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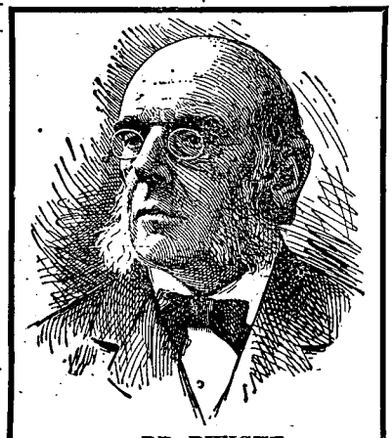

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JULY 2, 1903.

The Week.

In directing the Attorney-General to proceed vigorously in the postal cases the President declares unmistakably for publicity. He is against the Postmaster-General's theory that, for the sake of Mr. McKinley, these "old, unhappy, far-off things" should be let alone. The letter to Attorney-General Knox will not rank among Mr. Roosevelt's great state papers—usually he more than makes up for tardiness by vigor; but the letter as it is will get a careful reading in the Post-Office Department. When Perry Heath reads of the "prosecution of guilty men, whether in the service or not," he will find a suggestiveness in the phrase which fully atones for any lack of epigrammatic form. The lachrymose Payne, too, will admit that the order to go over his head arouses thoughts too deep for tears. On all hands it is matter of rejoicing that the President, who seemed caught for a time by Mr. Payne's blundering casuistry, has finally declined to enmesh himself in the sophistry that both virtue and official wrongdoing died with Mr. McKinley.

President Roosevelt has made an unequivocal declaration of purpose in his appointment of Charles Jerome Bonaparte and Conrad Holmes as special counsel for the prosecution of the postal frauds. Both men have a national reputation as lawyers and as public-spirited citizens. Neither could have undertaken such a task except on the understanding that the rascals are to be hunted down without fear or favor. The President's own character was a guarantee that the work should be thoroughly done; his often-expressed scorn of the craven and weakling was a promise that, however his subordinates might hesitate or tremble as the trail of corruption led to the doors of men high in Republican counsels, he at least would not blench, even if jumping on Perry Heath and his Congressional backers were more painful than the ordeal of hot ploughshares. But now the President has made his implicit promise explicit. The selection of Mr. Holmes, a distinguished Democrat, is not only a proper step in itself, but is a clever political move. It will disarm partisans, for if any man under suspicion now escapes the clutch of the law, most people will believe him either innocent, or else too shrewd to have crossed the boundary between indiscretion and actual guilt.

From the President's direction that the postal investigations must all be "finished up before fall," the inference will, of course, be drawn that he wishes to forestall a Congressional inquiry. It is a question, however, whether the matter can be safely hurried up. In such a diversified and intricate system of corruption as has been little by little establishing itself in the Post-Office Department, there are necessarily parts which it will take a long time to explore. One step leads to another. Evidence turns up unexpectedly. It is not possible to fix a day by which the last nook and cranny can be confidently said to have had the light flashed into it. Besides, it does not seem probable that Congress will or should keep its hands off, in any event. The House is still the grand inquest of the nation. It is especially its business to look into the waste of the people's money. And we are not likely to get the full story of the political intrigues and entanglements which lie behind the looting of the Post-Office until some of the principals make a clean breast of it before a Congressional committee.

Ex-Postmaster-General Smith's second attempt to explain away the Tulloch charges does not seem to us more successful than his first. No one ever accused him of personal dishonesty. What he was charged with was winking at "irregularities" (polite for violations of law), and with having a dull sense of official propriety. This last letter of his is alone enough to convict him on either count. He has his formal "Exhibit A," "Exhibit B," and so forth, but the really glaring exhibit is his innocent statement that he had an estimable friend whom he would have been "a brute" not to help, and that he proceeded to do it by putting her on the Government payroll. That is to say, he used public office as a means of discharging private obligations. To have done that, and then to be capable of boasting of it, gives us the measure of Mr. Smith's official scrupulousness. He was, in this respect, in the same boat with Beavers and Machen. They, too, regarded appointments to office as their personal perquisites.

"Never," says the Nashville *American*, "since the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, has the negro question been so conspicuously in the public eye." This is the literal truth. The newspapers North and South are witnesses to it. It is a national question now full upon the whole nation. "What is to be done?" asks the *American;* and its answer is: "Either repeal the Fifteenth Amendment, or disfranchise the negro in every Southern State." Yet we are told that we must "let the South alone!" Mr. E. M. Shepard goes to address a Southern audience, and tells it that he has no sympathy with Northern men who doubt the South's ability or willingness to be just to the negro. At the very moment, the leading organs of public opinion at the South make no concealment of their purpose to strip the colored man of every political right. Of course, they say they will do it "for the negro's own good." No tyrant or oppressor ever failed to use that plea. It is just as valid for robbing our foreign-born citizens of the suffrage. If a dictator comes along some day and suppresses popular institutions in the South, he will do it for the good of his victims, and will tell the Southern editors that their ballot is only a bauble of which it is a real kindness to deprive them.

The aspect of the negro question to which Northern newspapers are just now giving most attention is the peonage cases. The revelation of a systematic new slavery has aroused consciences which seemed dormant in the presence of merely political wrongs. A cursory inspection of the more important newspapers of the North and West will show with how keen an interest the details of the peonage barbarities are followed, and how closely the trials of the guilty slave-drivers are watched. Several special correspondents have been sent to Montgomery to report the cases on trial before Judge Jones. One of them, writing to the Chicago *Chronicle*, quotes "a distinguished citizen of Montgomery" as saying:

> "There is one phase of this unfortunate affair which causes me more sorrow than any other. Where is the aroused public indignation which ought to follow such disclosures? What is the matter with the press of the State, with the priesthood and with the enlightened men and women of this district? Why do they withhold their condemnation of this great crime? Their silence is a serious handicap to the Federal officials who are seeking to bring to justice the men who are guilty of peonage. It encourages another class to stand out in direct opposition to the law, and circulate perverted and lying stories about the motives which control the acts of the Federal officers."

The plea of guilty in the chief of the peonage cases at Montgomery was a striking testimony to the completeness of the proof which the Federal prosecuting officers had amassed. It was the ringleader of the whole nefarious business who was caught. This man Pace, who was sentenced to five years' imprisonment by a righteous judge, himself a Southerner—Judge Jones—has been a sort of combination of feudal baron and wholesale slave-driver in the county which was the scene of his operations. A large landowner, with many plantations and mills requiring labor, he has

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been the most arrogant and cruel of the men who have practically enslaved helpless negroes. It has been the boast of these new slave-owners that the proclamation of emancipation and the Thirteenth Amendment did not "go" in their counties. Absolute masters of the local politicians and the minor courts, they have until now been able to snap their fingers at the law. But the long arm of the nation has seized them at last. Pace is out on bail, pending an appeal to the Circuit Court; but the moral value of his conviction must count tremendously. It is a blow between the eyes for the very Front de Bœuf of the peonage iniquity.

Mr. Hay's circular in behalf of the persecuted Rumanian Jews is undoubtedly the precedent followed by the President when he agrees to forward to the Czar a memorial on the Kishenev massacres. Temperamentally, Mr. Roosevelt would be inclined to associate himself with the American Hebrews who plead for their oppressed co-religionists in Russia, and it is proper, perhaps, to regard his action as personal rather than official. The Russian Government would relieve an otherwise awkward situation by taking that view of the case. The President joins in pious wishes that the Czar will deal justly with his Jewish subjects. With the cause everybody must sympathize; the expediency of the action itself is, however, open to doubt. Mr. Hay's more formal overtures in behalf of the Rumanian Jews accomplished nothing beyond expressing our national concern in the matter. Moral criticism of the internal policy of a foreign Power not only transcends the scope of diplomacy, but possibly of common sense also. Conceivably, a happy island, whose disinterestedness was beyond question, might assume gracefully the superior rôle of moral censor. Mr. Roosevelt's dispatch, however, will have to be dated, not from New Atlantis, but from about the latitude of Wilmington, Delaware.

The struggle among the Iowa Democrats, which culminated in the State Convention on June 24 in a refusal, by a vote of 464 to 353, to reaffirm the Kansas City platform, is not a new one. In the 1901 convention a majority report of the Committee on Resolutions presented a platform which ignored the silver question. This was met on the floor by a minority report, and, after a bitter debate, the convention inserted a plank declaring, "We hereby reaffirm the principles of the Democratic national platform adopted at Kansas City, July 5, 1900, and, without surrendering our convictions or abating our loyalty to our national policies, we believe this campaign to be particularly one that should be confined to State issues." The vote by which this plank was inserted was 669 to 550. Last week's vote against reaffirmation shows that the majority has veered to the other side, and doubtless marks the beginning of an even more rapid decline of Bryanism in Iowa. No reference whatever is made in the platform to the former national platforms, and the slate is accordingly wiped clean, ready for a new record.

It has become somewhat the fashion to look to Iowa for party leadership in questions relating to the tariff, and for this reason the tariff plank of the Democratic platform is interesting. It is brief but very much to the point. It says: "As the most alarming features of our present conditions are the evils which come from the Trusts, we call for the removal of the tariff from all Trust-made goods, and demand that all tariff schedules be adjusted with a view to tariff for revenue only." Nothing could be more simple than this, or cut more directly to the root. The platform refers briefly to the postal scandals, and in a tone which is at once temperate and firm. An investigation by a Congressional committee is called for; but whether this demand will become a leading feature of the campaign in Iowa and other States depends, of course, upon the vigor of the housecleaning now going on at Washington and in the various post-offices throughout the country.

There is a strong presumption of truth in the report from Washington that Speaker Cannon is going to set his face like a flint against currency legislation next winter. "Uncle Joe" has never shone in financial reform. He was born too early. The silver and greenback microbes got too firm a foothold in his system ever to be completely expelled. In the important measures looking to the establishment of the gold standard, Congressman Cannon has played but a minor rôle. The really alert and aggressive men like Fowler and Hill and McCall got little but sneers and objections from him. It is clear, therefore, that his sympathies and inclinations would be against even that moderate legislation which convinced currency reformers have, with the approval of the President, urged the Republican majority to enact at the coming session of Congress. It is a bold thing for the Speaker to challenge the announced policy of the President and powerful Senators of his own party, but that is apparently what Mr. Cannon has done. At the same time, we suspect that the Speaker takes this position only as a part of his campaign of resistance to a presumptuous Senate. A group of complacent Senators, headed by Mr. Aldrich, have undertaken the task of preparing a currency bill. It never occurred to them to consult the House. But Mr. Cannon sharply reminds them that they reckon ill who leave him out. He has before expressed his deep disgust at the stand-and-deliver methods of the Senate, as confronting the House. The signs are that he means to reassert the ancient dignity and privileges of the Representatives.

The Missouri legislative investigation daily furnishes more information in regard to the ways of great corporations. Lieut.-Gov. Lee's statement, supplementary to his testimony of last week, dwells upon their naturally friendly disposition, and the gratitude with which they reward those who have been kind to them. These Trusts are not unfeeling monsters, after all. They feel keenly that almost every man's hand is against them, and it is really touching to see how they respond to little kindnesses. Here is the Tobacco Trust, for instance. It was little enough that Mr. Lee did. He merely "wrote the obituaries of some of them, and boosted others when they got promotions," yet these little seeds of kindness sprouted into fifteen fifty-dollar bills for his campaign fund. This payment was far above the scale of the obituary writers' union, but it may not be altogether easy to write prose elegies on a Trust promoter. The rate is but little higher, at least, than that paid by the Sugar Trust for Mr. Lee's pamphlets. The exact nature of the Lieutenant-Governor's "boosting" is not disclosed, but we are assured that the Trusts' helping hand in return was "simply an act of friendship on their part and nothing more."

The slight extension of municipal ownership which Mayor Low now favors in connection with the Staten Island ferries is evidently a step to which he has come reluctantly. It is taken only after the failure of other proposed solutions of that particular transit problem. The railroad and trolley companies involved could not come to an agreement, and the city authorities therefore pass on to the alternative of municipal purchase and control of the Staten Island terminals and the ferryboats running to them. Even so, however, it will be observed that no proposal of operation by the city is positively made. A lease to some operating company is seemingly contemplated. This illustrates the caution with which the Mayor feels bound to approach the whole question of public ownership and management of business which can be better done in private hands. He might well hesitate to embark upon any such enlargement of the public service in view of the Post-Office revelations, which have given the advocates of the "ownership and control of public utilities by the people" a knockdown blow. Be it remembered that the Post-Office has long been their chief boast and argument. As-

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sert that a great public business cannot be dispatched honestly and efficiently by the municipality or the State direct? Why, look at the postal business! There you have a very model of the kind of thing we mean. If we only had the telegraph and the telephone and the railroads "nationalized" in the same way, and the cities in immediate control of gas and electric lighting and street-car operation, this would be a country of the blessed.

In view of the recent warm discussions over the bank position, the prices of stocks, and the allied problem of "undigested securities," returns of the national banking system as a whole are peculiarly interesting. Five times a year the Comptroller of the Currency calls for these returns from all the 4,900 national banks at once. The result is a comprehensive picture of the state of the country's cash holdings and credit fund; for although the report does not cover the direct operations of the State banks, the trust companies, or the savings and insurance institutions, it is recognized nevertheless as a fairly correct exponent of the movement in them all. The past three months, and in large measure the past year, have been commonly described as a period of liquidation—notably on the Stock Exchange. Yet the first thing that strikes the eye in the Comptroller's figures, just compiled from returns under the June 9 call, is the fact that loans of the national banks have increased $11,828,000 over April 9, and no less than $193,186,000 since the report of last July. Deposit liabilities have increased $102,117,000 during the year, while cash reserves have not only not increased in an equal ratio, but are smaller by $17,409,000 than in the middle of 1902. It will naturally be asked, why should the loan account have increased at this portentous rate—the expansion over last year is fully 6 per cent.—if liquidation was general on the markets? The answer is, that trade at large has been rather more active even than a year ago; that high prices prevalent in many industries have required a larger use of capital to conduct them; that the various syndicates have continued, until very recently, to borrow extensively for their undertakings, and, finally, that our banks have had to take up a mass of loans previously placed in Europe. When this series of operations is considered, and with it the fact that cash reserves of the banking system as a whole have decreased in the period, it should be easy to understand why forced liquidation followed the line of least resistance—namely, Stock Exchange securities. Possibly, too, these figures may enlighten people who have cheerfully assumed that, once the "shake-up" in stocks was reasonably complete, renewal of last year's wild speculation might be looked for.

Mr. Wyndham's surrender to the Irish appears to be complete. The minimum rate of land purchase has been abolished, so that landlords and tenants may make such bargains as they choose, while the Government bonus has been largely increased. Though a fairer arrangement than that which fixed an arbitrary minimum price for farm lands, this is a costly way of maintaining the principle of special inducements for sale under the act, and it may somewhat reduce the number of sales. Under the original arrangement there was a kind of moral obligation upon a landlord to sell to any tenant who offered the legal price. Now, such a transaction becomes more or less a matter of bargaining on either side. The bill as amended is fairer, but on the whole weaker. Too great hopes have been pinned to it in the first instance, and the present radical modification makes the new Land Bill appear more than ever simply a payment on account—not the liquidation of England's debit balance to Ireland. The compromise, or rather surrender, should serve its immediate purpose of holding the Irish Nationalists to their wavering allegiance. It also emphasizes the fact that Mr. Balfour is in the hands of those who cannot honestly be called his friends.

Austria and Russia alone participated in the reception of Peter I. at Belgrade. Both these nations have condemned the assassination, and both accept its results. As guardians of Servia they refuse to break off relations, quite as parents will sit in the prisoners' box with a guilty son. That is the real significance of the solemnity at Belgrade. The Powers which have refused to recognize the *de facto* King have inflicted a rather empty diplomatic slight upon him. They are really—whether formally or not—represented by the Russian and Austrian Ministers, who would in an emergency act for any or all of the absent envoys. It is needless to add that a joint withdrawal of the Ministers would never have been considered in the case of a first-rate Power, no matter how blood-stained its new dynasty might have been. The hesitant and, on the whole, futile rebuke now administered to Servia is evidence of the inevitable bankruptcy of diplomacy before any issue of pure morals.

When Mr. Chamberlain declares that England is "on the eve of a great controversy," he must mean a contest at the polls, with his scheme of preferential tariffs as the main issue. In a letter to a constituent he speaks of it as the coming "big fight." This makes it clear that the present Cabinet does not expect to go on for long. The "open mind" cannot be left so wide open that all manner of antagonistic opinions find lodgement in it. Even the Duke of Devonshire, Government leader in the House of Lords, admitted the other day that the position of the Ministry, rent by such sharp divisions, was "difficult." Yet he maintained that it was not wholly "impossible." Why could not good men agree to disagree? Above all, why should any Minister resign? On that subject the Duke was fairly plaintive. Was Mr. Chamberlain bound to quit office because the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have none of his new-fangled notions? Should Mr. Balfour resign simply because he couldn't make up his mind either way? Come to think of it, why should anybody ever resign? The Premier's speech which saved the awkward situation for the time being was, no doubt, adroit with the cleverness of a man who had a nominal party majority behind him that did not want to be turned out of power. But it was, after all, only dangerous balancing on a tight rope. He is certain to fall one side or the other. In fact, that grieved protectionist, Mr. Chaplin, asserts that Mr. Balfour has already fallen. "You say you have no settled conviction; that you will inquire and keep an open mind; yet you begin by striking off the only duty that looks our way." But Mr Chaplin is quite too blunt and crude for these new-fashioned Parliamentary refinements. He should have done as Mr. Chamberlain did—denounced the repeal of the grain tax, but voted for it just the same.

On the reballoting in the Reichstag elections the Socialists have increased their total seats to 81, nearly twice their strength in the last Reichstag. The reduction in the Centre and Conservative delegations—about one-quarter in either instance—increases the probability that the Government will be hard put to it to make up a majority. It is even likely that the Chancellor, taking a leaf from the French and Italian book, may attempt to gain support from the Socialists, who very nearly hold the balance of power. The spectacle of the Clericals and Socialists pulling together would be odd enough; but before this politics has made stranger benchfellows. A minor result is the reappearance of the Radicals, who failed to win a seat on the first balloting. With 36 members, in three groups, they will be able to continue their valuable work of presenting genuine Liberal ideals to a body generally given over to petty politics. The able leader, Dr. Richter, has been returned by a handsome majority, and Dr. Barth has gained his election. Generally speaking, the time seems favorable to an alliance between the Radicals and Socialists. Nothing can be predicted of the new Reichstag until the Social Democrats have determined on a policy—to accept a bribe from the Government, or to continue the work of opposition.

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THE LYNCHING MADNESS.

Bishop Butler once speculated on the possibility of a whole people going mad. That the general brain may suffer a lesion resulting in what looks like popular insanity, indeed, is arguable with a good deal of force. The early stages of lunacy in the form of "fads" and "crazes" often manifest themselves in whole communities; and, as we are unhappily seeing just now in the outbreak of barbarous lynchings, East and West, North and South, the thing sometimes mounts to acute mania.

An alienist might easily detect in the bearing and actions of the frenzied mobs many of the symptoms of dementia. There is the wild obsession, the insensate fury, the cries, the howls, the "fixed idea," the rage knowing no bounds. It is a point at which the psychology of the crowd most strikingly reflects the mental condition of the individual maniac. But the madness of the mob is worse than that of the single man, because it is infectious. One crazy band bent on murder incites another to bloody-mindedness. In these days of quick communication, impulses pass swiftly from one section of the land to another. It is like the inmates of adjoining padded cells in Bloomingdale stirring each other up by the example of shrieking and foaming at the mouth. A mob at the South bellows, and presently another in Belleville, Ill., takes up the hoarse cry. Thence the mania passes on to Indianapolis, only to break out later with redoubled fury and with every refinement of cruelty at Wilmington. We almost seem to be beholding the fancy of Butler come true, and an entire nation losing its reason.

This conception of the passion for lynching as a vast wave of madness, inundating people by the thousand, is one, it seems to us, which is fitted to heighten our sense of public peril as we confront the startling phenomenon. Where it will declare itself next, no man can tell. It is the instant and urgent duty of all sane men, and of every community not yet bedlamized, to gather up all the resources we possess against this threatening evil, which has already become a stinging national disgrace. For there is method in this madness. It takes its origin, as everybody can see, in the notion that there is one class of men beyond the pale of the law. Mind, we say class of *men*, not class of crimes. Not all bestial outrages or ferocious murders are punished by mob law and with every circumstance of atrocity, as was the horrible crime by the more horrible lynching in Delaware. The trembling brute who was burned to death spoke the simple truth when he told his tormentors that he would not have been dealt with in that savage fashion had he not been a negro. Not all monsters of depravity are black; yet where do we hear of the red fury of the mob turning so upon white fiends? No, the idea is abroad that "niggers" may be hunted like wild beasts. Beginning by attempting to de-citizenize them, we have passed on to considering them de-humanized. We deny them the inalienable rights of every human being under our laws. For the white criminal the orderly processes of the law, the court, the sentence, the noose; but for his fellow in crime—that is all he is—the colored man, there is nothing but the howling of the mob and the leaping flame.

This is the first and great warning which the lynching mania speaks to every man who will hear. Class prejudice is at the bottom of these ferocities. In Bessarabia it is the Jew who is the outlaw, and who may with impunity be massacred because he belongs to a hated class; in America it is the negro for whom the most sacred guarantees of the law simply do not exist. Discrimination against a man because of his race or color shows us, in the insensate mob at Wilmington, into what wild animals it turns human beings when it does its perfect work. And we have not the slightest security that such class prejudice, erected into the controlling passion of the mob, will stop with any particular race or color. Any day it may suddenly be declared, and adopted in practice, that other classes of men, other races, other colors, are fit only for lynching. When once you depart from the principle that all men as such have fundamental and equal rights, or from the duty of doing justice even upon the vilest under the strict forms of the law, you cannot tell to what fearful and bloody consequences you may be driven.

That is really the alarming aspect of this invasion of old communities by the lynching habit. It threatens to burst the social bond itself, and make us all cave-men again, every one taking justice into his own hand. "Rough justice" lynching has been called by its apologists. We perceive the roughness, but not the justice. Society exists at all only because individuals agree to put their private griefs into the hands of the ministers of the law; and every attempt by individuals or by mobs—be they "mobs of gentlemen"—to wreak vengeance on their own account, is a stab at the life of our society. How deep our shame as a nation should be at these awful barbarities, no one perhaps can fully perceive who does not read the foreign newspapers. The story of our lawless ways is telegraphed to them in all its ghastliness. Englishmen, Germans, and Frenchmen have been thinking of Americans at their breakfast tables just as we were thinking a few weeks ago of the murderous Russians at Kishenev. The stain has come upon our country's name at the very moment when we were loudest in protesting against the atrocities of others.

What violence can do as a remedy for violence, we see in the secondary rioting in Wilmington, with the threats of disturbance in other parts of Delaware. The Governor seems to have taken the novel view that if the mob were only given its head, and whites and blacks allowed to fly at each other's throats for a time, everything would soon settle down into a beatific calm. It was reserved for Richmond to teach the real stern lesson to mob rule. The application of martial law with an iron hand, open orders to the troops to shoot the first rioter that showed his head—that was the way they did it in Virgania, and it is the only way to deal with murderous lawlessness, as the history of government has shown, before and since Napoleon's "whiff of grapeshot." The moment that a public official dallies with men who set the laws and courts at defiance—worst of all, cowers before them and allows them to sway the action of the sworn guardians of order—that moment does he endanger the whole fabric of government. As for the riotous negroes of Wilmington, what moral had the white mob taught them but the one they drew—namely, that the way to secure their rights was not to appeal to the authorities, but to arm themselves and strike terror into every heart?

NEW PHASES OF THE LABOR CONTROVERSY.

Ever since free labor replaced the work of slaves, the relation of employer and employed has been essentially unchanged. The master asks: "What wages must I give?" The man's one inquiry is: "What wages can I get?" In the give and take involved in the answers to those two questions, we have in a nutshell the history of the labor movement. It changes in its manifestations from time to time; it is affected by alterations of law and of public sentiment; it is influenced by the development of political institutions; but, at bottom, it is always the same. Behind all trades-unions lie the factors which ultimately determine the rate of wages and the lot of the workingman. No organization, no rhetoric, no jugglery can conceal the fact that laborers can be paid only for efficient production, and only as much as their employers are able to give them without being ruined themselves.

Nevertheless, the varying phases of the controversy are perennially interesting. The real question is, in the last analysis, one and simple, but it presents itself in many complex guises. Just at present, for example, we are witnessing a marked shifting of the scene and stress of the age-long trouble between capital and labor. The striking and novel feature to-day is the combination of employers to withstand the onset of combined unions. It is not wholly new. Several years ago the employing print-

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ers of this city banded together in such an organization for their common defence. Every one knows how the master-builders of Chicago were compelled to stand together as one man to resist the impossible demands of the building trades. The point is that the movement is now greatly expanded, and promises to become universal. We hear of it in Pittsburgh, in Charleston, as well as in New York. It is extending to many industries. It is distinctly the latest aspect of a very old quarrel.

In its presence labor leaders have displayed much uneasiness, not to say indignation. This idea of combining was really wicked—when it was a combination against, not by, themselves. They even applied to District Attorney Jerome to proceed against their employers for conspiracy! But he quietly reminded them that they were the last persons on earth to talk about illegal combinations. In reality, they had no reason to be surprised at this final resort of the employing builders. The union game was to combine all the building trades into one, and then to pick off the separate builders in detail. It was certain, however, that the process would not be allowed to run a long course. The employers have at least as much acuteness as the workmen. To deal with a massed body of unions, they simply devised the counter-union of contractors. It was an inevitable return blow. It does not, as we have said, alter the fundamental nature of the everlasting wage dispute. Indeed, it only brings it out more clearly by restoring something like equality between the two parties. As the individual employer used to confront the individual workingman, so now the united employers face the combined unions. And the questions to be asked and answered are the familiar ones: "How much can we get?" "How much can we afford to pay?"

The instructive thing is that none of the changes in the recent organization of either capital or labor have, in fact, proved to be the panacea that they were hailed to be in advance. Labor unions are stronger than ever, more "federated" than ever; yet they have only called out a stronger force on the other side. The deadlock is just as complete as if it were one man striking against a single master. The most powerful unions have simply learned the old lesson—that there is a point at which their excessive demands necessarily break down, since there is a point at which the owner would rather see his business go to wreck than to have the control of it taken out of his hands, or to submit to a wage scale which would wreck it anyhow. Nor does the cure-all of the Trust appear, on the other hand, to any better advantage. It was a part of the current nonsense about Trusts, two or three years ago, that they were to solve permanently the labor problem. We now see that they have rather inflamed it. In the first place, labor leaders have been quick to take the hint, and to form a Trust of their own; in the second place, the huge and top-heavy combinations of capital, with a sensitive stock market attachment, have been peculiarly vulnerable as they have been especially timid, have invited attack in a thousand ways unknown before, and have helped to make the last state of the labor movement worse than the first.

Both sides ought to learn something from this recent experience. The unions should perceive that organization cannot take the place of character. Their blackmailing agents have dealt organized labor a fearful blow. Until it abolishes these arbitrary and corrupt walking delegates, it cannot expect to enjoy the respect of good citizens. Nor can the corporations which prefer illicit relations with labor manipulators hope to fare any better. It is well understood that there are some such in this city. They find it easier to have a regular scale of blackmail, which they pay the walking delegate, than to insist upon open contracts, lived up to on both sides to the letter. Like the corporations which pay bribe money or fright money to Tammany, they would rather be bled secretly than fight in the light of day. They are as corrupt at heart, and as dangerous in operation, as any walking delegate or Tammany collector that ever took their money. There is no final peace to be had in the business or manufacturing world—no "peace without a worm in it," in Cromwell's phrase—which does not rest upon honesty, fair dealing, and the looking of all the facts, economic and moral, squarely in the face.

PRIMARY REFORM.

Massachusetts, which has always been a leader in election reforms, has just adopted a direct-nominations law. It is to go into operation in Boston immediately, and to be applied to other cities of the State when accepted by the local authorities. The new statute provides that party primaries shall be held at a common date fixed by law, and at the same hours and places in the various districts. The regular election officers or inspectors are to attend, and everything, from the printing of the ballots to the counting and preserving of the vote, is as official as on election day. Each candidate for a party nomination must obtain blank nomination papers from the secretary of his organization, and, in order to be placed as a candidate on the official ballot, must secure a limited number of signatures—five for a ward candidate, and five for each ward where the district involved is greater than this unit.

On primary day the elector announces the party in whose nominations he chooses to participate, retires to a booth after the ticket has been handed him, votes in secret, and deposits his ballot under the official supervision of representatives of both parties. For the first year there will be no enrolment, but a record is to be kept, showing which party the voter selected, and thereafter he may not participate in a primary of any other party without first having his previous enrolment annulled. This is a process requiring ninety days' delay. Manipulation across party lines is thus effectually checked.

Another feature of the new law, and one which might well be applied to our own system, provides for municipal parties, and permits them to participate as such in the official primary. In general, the law provides that to be recognized as a party an organization must poll a certain per cent. of the vote for Governor, but exception is specifically made in favor of organizations of citizens taking part only in municipal affairs. An enrolment in one of the national parties does not prevent an elector from voting in the primary of one of these municipal organizations. It should be noted, of course, that this latter provision is not as confusing in Massachusetts as it might be in New York, for the reason that in Massachusetts the idea of separating national and State from municipal elections has been carried to its logical conclusion, the municipal elections being held, some in December, and some in the spring, instead of at the time of the general election in November. The movement which has resulted in the passage of this law in Massachusetts has been thoroughly non-partisan in its nature. Leaders of both of the two great parties have given it their support. The new statute bears evidence of having been carefully drawn. Especially in its provisions to prevent corrupt combinations between the baser elements of both parties, there are evidences that the experience of other States has been carefully studied.

One striking feature of the movement for direct primaries is the rapidity with which it is spreading. Many of the Southern States have long observed the principle, though the element of official regulation, which is basic in the systems adopted by the Northern States, has been for the most part lacking in the South. We are chiefly concerned, however, with the progress which has been made in States where political conditions more nearly resemble our own. Of these, Minnesota, Maryland, New Jersey, and now Massachusetts have adopted the system with various modifications. Wisconsin has considered it, and would be using it to-day, but for the dissatisfaction of Gov. La Follette with the details of a bill passed in 1902, which he vetoed. This year he had no chance to pass on a primary bill, though this was one of the chief issues of his campaign, the Senate

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effectively blocking all attempt to change the convention plan now existing in Wisconsin. There are indications, also, that Michigan will soon join the ranks of States having the direct primary.

No two States have adopted exactly the same system, but the statutes are similar in that they provide for official supervision of the primary, and direct voting for the candidate without the intervention of delegates or conventions. In New Jersey this direct voting is confined to candidates within the smallest political unit, and an attempt has been made to preserve the conventions for the larger nominations, electing delegates only by the direct plan. Other variations relate to the matter of eligibility of electors to vote in the primary. In Minnesota, which was the pioneer State in adopting the direct primary, its most obvious defect was early discovered. The thugs of both parties joined together in Minneapolis and took "Doc" Ames from the gutter to nominate him for Mayor. To forestall similar evils, the Minnesota law has been amended so that, when challenged, an elector may be barred from the primary if it can be shown that he is not an adherent of the party whose ballot he has selected.

In Maryland, on the other hand, the election officers are required to state to the voter that participation in the primary does not bind him to support the candidate named. If the Massachusetts law is an expression of the latest tendency in this matter, it will be seen that it inclines to hold the voter more and more strongly in his choice when made. This applies to the primary, not to the election. Any obligation to vote at the election for the candidate of the party in whose primary he participated must ever lie, of course, solely between the elector and his conscience. With the secret ballot no coercion could be successful, even if foolishly attempted.

It is unnecessary to point out that the increasing strength of this movement in other States must profoundly affect the minds of our own citizens, especially in New York city, where both parties are suffering intensely from boss rule. Some of the best features of the system which is so rapidly growing in popularity, we have possessed in this State since 1898. Our primary is under official supervision, and no other State has an enrolment system equal in efficiency to ours. But our primary unit, nominally the election district, is in fact the Assembly district, and our nominations are far from being made by the people. For many years New York led in the matter of primary reform. Some advance steps must soon be taken unless we are to lag behind.

"AMERICANIZATION" OF WESTERN CANADA.

The Western States show some nervousness over the recent large emigration to the Canadian Northwest. It is probable that the number of farmers moving across the border this year will be greater than last, despite the fact that the newspapers of the Middle West are giving much space to warnings against seductive tales about the new farming region. They call attention to the long, cold winters, and to the restriction on crop diversity by reason of the brief summers. They lay stress upon the differences in government. Nevertheless, well-to-do and prosperous farmers are selling their prairie lands and are going with their families into the comparatively unbroken territory of Alberta and Assiniboia.

A part of this emigration is traceable to generous advertising in the country weeklies throughout the West. It is placed by the Canadian Government. In practically every little "home paper" between the Mississippi River and the Rockies are displayed the flattering statements of what is offered to farmers who will journey to the Northwest. These announcements, with other advertising matter, have changed the Western farmer's conception of the Canadian Northwest, which he formerly looked upon as akin to Siberia. As a result, the movement to the new section has grown remarkably. In 1896 only thirty-six people were listed by the Canadian Government as having come from this country. In 1900, despite the good crops in the West, the number was 5,791; in 1901, 18,000, and last year it rose to 37,000. The immigration to the same region from the provinces of eastern Canada, from Continental Europe, and the United Kingdom was last year over 39,000. It is estimated that 50,000 English will this year seek homes in the new lands, and perhaps as many Americans.

Upon such figures as these, Western statisticians build theories of the "Americanization" of Canada. They foresee a revolution of sentiment among the Canadian population, by reason of the working of this leaven of farmers from the States, which will in the near future bring about annexation, or the establishment of a new republic. They forget, however, the rapid and increasing introduction, beside the people from this nation, of many more from other countries, and that the whole trend of the influences among which the new comers are to be placed is fully as likely to "Canadaize" the recent settlers as vice versa. While the interests of western Canada are somewhat separate from those of the eastern provinces, and its development is still in the embryonic state, the strength of the British sentiment is none the less notable. The population of the Northwest Provinces before the rush of immigration began in 1901 was 413,898, of which 246,892 was of British origin, with nine-tenths of the remainder European. It will take a long time for immigration from this country to catch up with such a lead.

Few realize the immensity of the cultivable lands lying north of the boundary. Col. G. E. Church has estimated the area available for wheat raising in the Canadian Northwest at 400,000 square miles, or four times that on which wheat is grown in the United States. Only one per cent. of this area is under cultivation. Manitoba and North Dakota began wheat-raising about the same time; yet while Manitoba had in 1901 2,212,000 acres, ten contiguous counties of North Dakota had 2,894,000 acres. It is said that one county of North Dakota had last year more land in wheat than all of Manitoba. Of course, these comparisons will soon lose their point if the present rate of immigration from our own West continues, for there will be opened a vast area of now unbroken plain.

At present, Canada's transcontinental trade passes south of Lake Winnipeg, and therefore within sixty-five miles of the United States border. This leaves the transportation lines in a very unfavorable position strategically. There is under consideration, however, the Trans-Canada Railway from Quebec to Port Simpson, passing north of Lake Winnipeg and but a hundred miles south of the southern extension of Hudson Bay. This road would tap the northern wheat lands, and would shorten the distance between Europe and Japan by 700 miles. If it be true that Canada's trade movement is at present tending to bring her into closer relations to the United States than to England, the projected road would probably have a counterbalancing effect, through its direct connection with the English business world. With over three million acres homesteaded last year, and railway land sales of three million acres more, the settlement of the yet unoccupied stretches will be a matter of but a short time.

Whatever our Western States think of this movement, it is an active factor in the development of the North American continent, and will remain so as long as the policy of keeping the new country before the public is maintained by the Canadian Government, by railways and land companies. The immigration which has followed their campaign shows no sign of diminution. While, for commercial purposes, population in the Canadian West is not so valuable to us as population in the American West, it should not be considered that an imaginary boundary line can bar the currents of trade. A populous Canadian West is better for us than an uninhabited wild. It can scarcely be maintained that Canada's development is accompanied by any neglect of our own opportunities so long as a moving army of something like 400,000 homeseekers is occupying the unsettled portions of

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our own West. Some may be spared to "Americanize" the grassy plains of Canada, and yet leave us a surplus for our own upbuilding.

LIBRARY GIFTS IN 1902-1903.

At the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the American Library Association, held last week at Niagara Falls, the customary report on gifts and bequests from June 1, 1902, to May 31, 1903, was presented by Mr. J. L. Harrison of the Providence Athenæum. From his statistical tables, which will be published in the *Library Journal*, many interesting inferences may be drawn by those who believe that library development is a rough index of the culture of a community. Naturally, the figures emphasize Mr. Carnegie's peculiar eminence as a giver of libraries. The year has seen 158 Carnegie libraries added to a list which has probably passed one thousand and increases with almost daily rapidity. In other words, Mr. Carnegie, in the year ending last May, provided three library buildings for every one furnished at the public expense or by private beneficence. Or, if one chooses to regard Mr. Carnegie's gifts from the point of view of expense, he has given during the year $6,679,000, out of total library gifts (excluding, however, 96,247 volumes) of $10,306,407. In fine, Mr. Carnegie contributes two-thirds of the money and three-quarters of the buildings.

Little new is to be said about this broadcast sowing of public libraries. The results are unquestionably mixed, and until one can be assured that there is a skilful librarian in each building and an enlightened board of directors in control, there will be reason to doubt if the educational value of these institutions justifies the expense. Yet the future will probably bear out not only Mr. Carnegie's liberality, but his faith in the value of the reading habit. For, in the long run, local boards will see the absurdity of buying dozens or scores of each worthless novel, and will cease to rival the excellent agencies which render this service at a reasonable cost.

The fear sometimes expressed that Mr. Carnegie's lavishness would discourage other givers and leave him with a monopoly of the library business, does not seem warranted by Mr. Harrison's figures. Public interest is measured not in dollars, but in gifts, large or small. Mr. Harrison enumerates all money gifts of $500 or over, and all gifts of not less than 250 books. By this rating, Massachusetts, with a total of eighty-five gifts to libraries, leads all the other States. Her five Carnegie libraries, to cost $65,000, form only a small fraction of gifts from other sources, amounting to more than $300,000; while it should be noted that Massachusetts is notably liberal in the expending of public funds for such purposes, and very rich in library endowments of long standing. Gifts of 18,591 books, a figure only surpassed by New York's 25,944, are a significant sign of the intimate interest that citizens of Massachusetts take in their libraries.

Pennsylvania leans heavily upon Mr. Carnegie, as is not unnatural. His gifts for the year amount to $3,105,000, of which nearly a half is for the enlargement of the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh. Other gifts are only a little more than $517,000. Only in the Middle West does the Carnegie habit tend to harden into an exclusive formula. Ohio (17), Indiana (14), Michigan (12), Wisconsin (13), Iowa (18) easily lead all the other States in their readiness to accept Mr. Carnegie's offer of library buildings. These are States which, as far as the gifts of the past year show, have a retarded library development. In every case, gifts from other quarters are but a small fraction of the Carnegie funds for buildings. But of these States, too, it should be said that they lack initiative rather than enterprise. Mr. Carnegie doubtless counts it an especial triumph for his propaganda when he loads scores of libraries upon the public funds in States that have naturally little interest in library matters. New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Delaware, and Virginia have not drawn upon Mr. Carnegie, nor, except Rhode Island, have they received noteworthy gifts.

Measured on this scale, our own State makes a very creditable showing for the year. Mr. Carnegie, after his great gift of branch libraries in this city, has been in desuetude, with a mere nine buildings at a total cost of $139,000, while the list of gifts from other sources comes to $679,835 in money and 25,944 in books. This would probably entitle New York to second place after Massachusetts, whose primacy is proved quite as clearly in eighty-five gifts, against sixty-five for the Empire State, as in figures of dollars and cents.

These statistics of private gifts have a peculiar significance. They not only mean that a community is willing to support libraries, but they are also the indication of a public that aids in the proper management and use of libraries. That bureaucratized Washington should leave its library concerns to Congress and Mr. Carnegie is not surprising; that whole ranges of States in the South and West show only a handful of gifts to libraries, is evidence that besides public libraries many communities need training in the use of the facilities which, under the Carnegie dispensation, seem to come so easily. On this matter Mr. Churton Collins says some sensible things in the current *Nineteenth Century*:

"If philanthropists—I submit it with all respect—instead of continuing to assist in scattering these libraries broadcast over the country, would substitute some provision for rendering those already existing really efficient and beneficial, they would supply a want more urgent than their multiplication. And it is not difficult to specify what is needed; it has just been indicated—provision for enabling readers to know how profitably to avail themselves of the treasures placed at their disposal; provision for an adequate regular supply of the best books in leading subjects of study, and for securing the services of properly trained and properly qualified librarians."

That Mr. Carnegie realizes this truth is shown in his gift to Western Reserve University for a library training school.

MAZZINI REDIVIVUS.

FLORENCE, May 26, 1903.

Just a quarter of a century after Mazzini's death, his little book on 'The Duties of Man' has been introduced into the public schools of Italy by the present Minister of Public Instruction, Signor Nasi. Many attempts had been made (by Bertani first) to induce successive ministers to allow the work to circulate among the schools; but the fear of priestly clamor and the fact that the apostle of United Italy, though in homage to the principle of popular sovreignty, he bowed to the plébiscites, and abstained from any attempt to transform monarchy into a republic by violent means, yet adhered to his convictions that the republic is the ideal government, prevented any minister hitherto from acceding to what was at one time a general desire on the part of liberals. The editorial committee for Mazzini's works, however, has in the course of twenty years published thirteen editions, reducing the price of the pamphlet to one halfpenny. The present minister has thought it necessary to slightly curtail or omit the paragraphs that exalt the republic, and to substitute for the author's dedication to workingmen (for whom the book was originally written, commencing in 1844, and reproduced in the *Roma del Popolo* 1871-2) a preface which affirms that the slight omissions do not alter the nature of the work. This affirmation is difficult to accept, because Mazzini believed that human progress could not be fully attained unless governments result from the free election of the people. A few notes summing up Italian liberties secured under the monarchial régime since Mazzini's death would have sufficed.

The omissions may find explanation at least in the violent attacks on the book's introduction into the schools made on all hands—by monarchists and republicans, but most especially by clericals and Socialists. The republicans, of course, object to the omissions, but also to the *Doveri* as "too theological," as "too dogmatic," "too mystical." They seem to forget that the schools are already inundated with Catholic, often Jesuitical, catechisms, and in certain schools text-books are used which excite openly to the abolition of Italian unity and to the restoration of the temporal power. The objections of the Catholics to the *Doveri* need not be enumerated. They are at least intelligible and logical; but the fury, the venom, the calumnious libels of the Socialists surpass all measure, and leave one with the impression that they are not so sure of their present influence and future triumph as they seemed to be some time since. Mazzini, who from 1833

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affirmed that all political reformation which had not for its object the amelioration of the social condition of the masses was worthless, who foresaw in coöperation, in association, in the union of labor and capital, the real levers for the emancipation of the working classes from the position of salaried laborers—this long before coöperative societies or trade unions had assumed form and shape—is accused of always having been the "declared enemy of the proletary class." His religion, it is said, his God, his economical doctrines all tend to the maintenance of the classes against the masses, of the *borghesia*, of property individual and absolute. Further, because he was a believer in God, he is denounced as a bitter and implacable despiser and enemy of "the contemporary scientific movement—eminently positivist and naturalistic." Space does not allow quotations. Certain it is that this authorization of the 'Duties' in the schools has raised such a torrent of polemics as no other publication has given rise to since public schools have existed. And this is beneficial. Dr. Napoleone Colajanni, member of Parliament, republican, with advanced social views, first-class polemist, editor of the *Rivista Popolare*, has summed up the whole question in a pamphlet entitled 'Priests and Socialists against Mazzini,' with a delightful "tak it among ye" impartially. He not only gives a fair exposition of Mazzini's social doctrines, showing how from the first he opposed the economists of "supply and demand," the "buy in the cheapest, sell in the dearest market" school, and that he, long before Marx or Bakunin expounded their special theories, came nearer to a really practical collectivism than any of them have yet done.

Meantime the second volume of Mazzini's Correspondence is on the eve of publication. It is wholly devoted to the years 1835-6, after the failure of the Savoy expedition. Those years were assuredly the very saddest of his life, years of desertion by his followers and friends, of separation from the only woman (Giuditta Bellerio Sidoli) that he loved wholly, solely, as a true and noble man could love—a separation rendered doubly bitter by the fact that its object (her reunion with her children left in the custody of her father-in-law, a devout adherent of the Duke of Modena) was not attained. Worse still, all these material trials were deepened by the tempest of doubt which was gradually gathering in his soul, lest, after all, the idea of Italy reborn was only a chimæra of his imagination and not a "providential design" at all. His New Year's letter home indicates his state of heart: "This is the first day of 1835; am I to formulate wishes for you? What would be the use of my auguries? Some one came into my room this morning wishing me 'A happy New Year!' 'My dear,' I answered, 'let me wish you nothing for fear that the roof should crumble on your head. Neither will I wish anything for you; only I say with even more fervor than usual that I love you, that I have always loved you, that I shall love you to the end. In these words are all my New Year's greetings, as in them lies my whole existence. Happy I can never be, whatever direction men and things may take, but happy in the peace and happiness of others—that I yet can be!"

On the 10th of January Mazzini has removed to Berne with Giovanni Ruffini, but hopes soon to return "to his mountains and his rocks," where the cold that his mother so fears has no terrors for him—she has brought him up too hardily for him "to swaddle himself in flannel now; besides, in Switzerland they have fires, which in Genoa are unknown." The Federal Directory which remained in charge as long as the Diet was not sitting, "is not badly disposed, but allows itself to be too much influenced by the French Ambassador, M. de Rumigny." Mazzini and the Italian exiles in general had ceased, of course, to hope for any help from Louis Philippe and his *juste milieu* Ministers, who had banished all exiles from France; but they were not yet aware of the deliberate determination of the entire French Government to compel Switzerland also to banish all from her territory. They hoped for a little peace as long as they kept quiet and did not interfere with Swiss affairs; but their hopes were shortlived. As long as Mazzini was in Switzerland, Louis Philippe had no rest. Austria was no less importunate, Metternich threatening to "withdraw her ambassador," and alleging, but this was natural, that Mazzini's persistence in remaining so near to Italy had no other object than to prepare the Italians for a crusade against that "foreign intruder." He has written for the French *Revue Républicaine* an article on "The European Initiative," which he tells his mother she will not be able to read, as the review is not allowed to circulate in Piedmont.

"For a year past I have expressed my opinion that the mission of France is finished. France has done much for Europe, and one people cannot do everything. It is well that this is so, or it would necessarily become a 'tyrant people.' But of this change the French will not admit the truth: their pride increases in the same measure as its foundations diminish. If you could read their newspapers! Whenever France itself is the subject, they do not refrain from speaking of things as they are—lamenting, cursing the apathy, inertia, and immorality everywhere prevalent. But as soon as another nation is the subject, then only to France must it look for salvation; the progress of all other nations depends on that of France alone."

He keeps himself up to date in English politics, though he hopes nothing from the English Government for oppressed nationalities. Great hopes arise on the death of the Austrian Emperor Francis I. (March 2, 1835). Mazzini hopes for nothing, "seeing that Austrian policy is centred in Metternich, and though the young successor hates him, he must adhere to his policy, as any attempt at conciliation would be interpreted as a sign of weakness and lead to immediate revolt, already attempted in Transylvania." Meanwhile Metternich threatens to "exterminate Berne." Mazzini and Giovanni Ruffini go to Grenchen, telling only his mother of the flitting, and, when arrived there, taking up the "thread of his discourse" on books and European politics, as though the removal had been voluntary, just from one house to another. Meanwhile, search is being made for him everywhere, and he has to remain hidden so as to leave the French police with their conviction that, if he is not at Belleville, near Paris, he is certainly in the vicinity. He hardly ventures to go out for a breath of fresh air during the stifling summer months late at night, and that rarely. "The Powers demand that the Swiss Diet reintroduce the old laws fettering the press, and that they abolish the right of asylum." Bombelles, the Austrian Ambassador, has quitted Berne, declaring that he will not return until Mazzini is expelled. "And nothing will persuade them that at Berne I am not!"

The cholera invades Italy—Piedmont, then Genoa—and he hears that it is making ravages in Rome, where his Giuditta is still. He is tortured with anxiety, and prays his mother to keep him exactly informed. She tells him of the extraordinary exertions of his father, the courage that he infuses into his brother physicians; how with five of these he had visited the Hospital of Carinano, and, having obtained permission from the Governor of Genoa to use his own judgment, unfettered by the prescriptions in vogue, which forbade the physicians to touch the patients for fear of infection, he had treated them as he believed best, felt their pulses, passed his hands over their persons, and pronounced that two were suffering from nervous fever, other three from inflammation, none attacked with Asiatic cholera. Thus he infused courage among the families who hitherto had fled, leaving their sick untended and uncared for. The mother of the Ruffinis bears witness to his courage and success. The son is "proud and glad, but not surprised." But the real cholera ravaged Genoa throughout 1835-6, and Dr. Mazzini continued his unostentatious and successful crusade.

These letters, as the 'New Memorials and Letters of Jane Welsh Carlyle' do for her much-maligned husband, show what manner of man was Mazzini's father, and leave one with a sad sense of the injustice of fate and biographers, and special remorses for one's own share in the misjudgment of a man who lived out his whole life for others—his son's career forming his sole ambition. This cut short forever in 1830, he worked as professor at the university until 1844, then continued his profession as physician far too long for his strength, so as to maintain his son in exile, and died in 1848 without ever again beholding him or even living to see his ideas triumph, for a time at least, at Rome in 1849. One other mistake these letters correct. In the *Nation* of February 24, 1898, deceived by Cagnacci's mistake in confounding the many aliases of Mazzini, I referred to a drama entitled "Alessandro Medici" as written by Mazzini and much praised by the Ruffinis. The author was, instead, Antonio Ghiglione, an erratic and not very reputable exile, who committed certain acts of indelicacy which have been attributed to Mazzini by outsiders. Of this drama Mazzini speaks highly in his letters home, and we hear of one later entitled "Anna."

Mazzini is disgusted with Fieschi's attempt to assassinate Louis Philippe, as with all similar attempts. "If the birth of a republic depends on the death of an individual, what is a republic worth?" He foresees that it will strengthen the king's arbitrary power, and in fact the law restricting the press and public meetings was the chief result, with renewed persecution of the exiles. He visits the island of St. Pierre, on the Lake of Bienne, where once Rousseau took refuge. "The room in which he lived is bare, squalid, with two or three straw chairs—a room such as Chatterton died in. Genius allied to poverty produced a strange impression upon me,

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though I did not manifest what I felt to my Swiss companions. I did not expect to be impressed, for, though I look upon Rousseau as a powerful writer, I do not sympathize with him wholly as I do with Byron and one other [probably Schiller]." At Rome there has been a perquisition in Giuditta's apartment, it being believed that a certain person "was travelling in Italy."

Mazzini gives a charming description of the Swiss family with whom he lives:

"One of the articles of our politico-religious creed is the abolition of domestic service, the regeneration of the class of so-called servants—a class which, like all enslaved people, like the Jews and other classes which the present organization of society deprives of human rights, has of necessity become bad, selfish, without affection for, nay hostile to, the class of masters. If you want to regenerate an individual, emancipate him; make him your equal, give him consciousness of himself. Here we are served at table by the daughters of the house; they clean our rooms and light our fires; but we live on terms of equality, and we are loved as well as served."

For an entire year the exiles were left in peace at Grenchen; then, their refuge discovered, the French police got up a story that a meeting of refugees was to be held there to concert an invasion of the Badenese territory. The baths were invaded by 200 Swiss gendarmes. The house was searched, but of course neither visitors, nor arms, nor compromising papers were found; but the authorities of Soleure, under orders from the ambassadors, arrested Mazzini and Ruffini and took them to the prison of Soleure, where the inhabitants raised such a clamor that they were forced to release them. But, for fear of damaging their kind hosts, the exiles resolved on leaving their refuge, were welcomed by a Protestant pastor at Langenau; from this place (which we find on no map) Mazzini writes to his mother on June 2, making light of the trouble, which was indeed a grievous one. Then follow a number of letters without any address. Meanwhile the Swiss Government, to satisfy the "ambassadors," violates the right of the press, arrests all the directors, writers, printers, and compositors. One hope remains, that they may be received as citizens of the Canton of Soleure, and the birth certificates are asked for and forwarded. "Now for the first time," writes Mazzini, "I know when I was born." His letters are more cheerful than usual, but the iron had entered his soul. The Ruffinis could not stand the close confinement; moreover, they had long shown their total disbelief in any further sacrifice.. "Italy was unredeemable save by providence or fate." The Canton of Soleure was prevented by the Diet from granting them citizenship. Then followed six months more of literal hiding. They cannot even give their address, save orally to one faithful friend in a far-off canton, who receives and sends letters to and from Genoa. Mazzini's hour of Gethsemane had come—an hour, or rather days and weeks, of black despair, which really brought him to the border of insanity, though he revealed his state to no human being. Then, yielding more to the Ruffinis than to his own desire, he accepted the offer of the English Ambassador to procure them passports and a safe conduct through France, and in January arrived homeless and almost friendless on the hospitable, but "gloomy, sunless, musicless" shores of England.

J. W. M.

TITIAN'S SACRED AND PROFANE LOVE.

ROME, June, 1903.

Few paintings have been so universally known and admired as Titian's so-called "Sacred and Profane Love" of the Borghese Gallery in Rome. For four centuries the world has admired this marvellous canvas, captivated by the exquisite harmony of its colors, the beauty of its figures, its delicate flesh tints, its wonderful coördination of light and shade, the freshness of its spring landscape. But the world has paid its tribute of admiration without knowing the subject of the design. True, it has borne various titles at various epochs—the first that we know, "Beauty Adorned and Unadorned"; then, "Heavenly and Earthly Love," "Artless and Sated Love," "Innocence and Experience," and finally that by which it is commonly known to-day, "Sacred and Profane Love." But certainly not one of these titles answers to the truth, not one of the allegories succeeds in explaining the composition of the Borghese masterpiece. What is, then, its subject?

Let us try by careful study to answer the question, asking those two female figures their meaning, examining the expression of their faces, seeking light from the symbols and attributes which accompany them. The nude figure at the right has the semblance of a Venus. All art critics, from those of the seventeenth century, who saw in her the embodiment of Beauty, to Lübke and Cavalcaselle, who believed her that of Love, all have considered her a Venus. And if her beauty, if the splendor of her nude form, do not express this conception, it is certainly shown by the little censer, the Cytherean symbol, which she raises with her left hand, and by the presence of her little son, Cupid. Furthermore, the whole picture breathes love; all seems to form a crown for the Goddess of Love, from the butterflies which beat their wings and pursue one another in the air, to the amorous peasants who embrace in the distance, the rabbits which crouch close to one another, the springtime, and the bewitching hour when the sun casts his last rays upon the earth.

Venus is certainly in the act of speaking. Turned toward the other woman so as to show her profile, she enforces her words with her uplifted arm, and, looking fixedly at her companion, seems to wish to persuade her. The other, seated upon the opposite edge of the fountain, looks instead before her into space, like one who thinks and hesitates. Evidently she does not hear with pleasure the words of Venus, toward whom she does not turn her face as would be natural. Rather she turns from her. Is she another goddess of Olympus? No. If we seek her in the statues, bas-reliefs, pictures, in the mythological literature of the Greeks and Romans, we shall find no goddess so richly attired, none carrying under her right arm a box, basket, jewel-casket, or whatever it may be, and in the left hand a small green branch. These attributes of the woman are unmistakable. Her principal characteristics are beauty, youth, and splendid attire. It is easy with the assistance of so many and so rare indications to recognize Medea. Richly attired and with a little branch in her hand, seated in a balcony with Eros near, she is to be seen in vase No. 2,413 of the Museum of Naples. Richly attired, we see her again in vase No. 377 of the Caputi collection at Ruvo, where she is also in company with Cupid, a basket in her left hand. The same figure recurs in many other vases, among them that of the British Museum reproduced in Roscher's well-known 'Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology,' and that of the Lateran bas-relief No. 278, *Sala* IV, where Medea is in the act of opening the box of magic charms. In literature, too, Medea is represented with the Greek φωριαμός or the Roman *arca*, and with the potent little branch in her hand, the branch "immortale virens," as Valerius Flaccus says.

Now if, as seems to us certain, the three principal figures of the picture are Medea, Cupid, and Venus, what myth does Titian wish to immortalize upon canvas? Any dictionary of mythology will give it. It forms one of the best-known episodes of the 'Argonautica' of Valerius Flaccus and of the 'Metamorphoses' of Ovid. Venus appears to Medea and urges her to follow Jason and save him. Medea at first indignantly repels the proposition, which offends in her at once the virgin, the daughter and the queen. The seductive arguments of the Goddess of Love, however, lead her to forget father and country and duty, supplanting all with a burning love for Jason, who will die unless aided by her magic charms. She decides to follow Venus: "Te ducente sequor." But before setting out, not content with her poisons—"nec notis stabat contenta venenis"—she girds her belt, and takes the portentous, never-fading herbs, then goes to overtake Jason in the wood near by. This, briefly told, is the myth which has so numerous illustrations in Greek and Roman literature, and it was from literature rather than from art, we must believe, that Titian received the inspiration for the Borghese picture, in which he seems to have wished above all to illustrate the famous words of Medea, when, after a fiery struggle between duty and love, she decides to follow Jason and exclaims:

"Video meliora proboque,
Deteriora sequor."

Documents contemporary with the picture, which would indicate its subject, are as yet unknown; but that the subject should be sought in mythology, given the spirit of the profane pictures of Titian and of his contemporaries, seems to us beyond doubt.

But perhaps there is some authentic document which will offer further proof that this myth which we have cited is the subject of our canvas. In an article in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (February 4, 1902) it is stated that an edition of the 'Argonautica' of Valerius Flaccus exists, printed in Paris in 1550, which reproduces as its frontispiece the Borghese picture with the inscription, "Venus Persuading Medea to Fly with Jason." Certainly, the editor might most appropriately have chosen Titian's picture as an illustration, since the love of Medea and Jason is one of the principal episodes of the poem. But does this edition really exist? Researches which I have made myself in several of the most important libraries of Germany, such as those of Heidelberg, Strassburg, and Mu-

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nich, in which are to be found almost all the editions of the 'Argonautica,' have proved fruitless, as have also my researches in the leading libraries of Italy and the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris. Furthermore, no bibliography mentions an edition of Valerius Flaccus printed in Paris in 1550. In the other editions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which I have examined, no engraving of our picture appears. From this I would conclude, not that the citation is false, but that it is inaccurate.

In 1895, Wickhoff, in an article upon Giorgione, speaking incidentally of the 'Argonautica' which inspired Zorzi da Castelfranco with one of his pictures, states that the account of Venus and Medea contained in Book vii. suggested to Titian the theme for the Borghese canvas. Wickhoff, who does not stop to demonstrate his assertion, is followed in his new interpretation by both Lionel Cust and Claude Phillips. Again, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (February 25) published an article upon the same canvas in support of its earlier assertions, always arguing from the reproduction of the picture in the edition of the 'Argonautica' of 1550, with its explanatory inscription.

Among the reproductions in the "Masterpieces of Painting" executed by Callway of Munich, our picture is also to be found, and I have observed with surprise that it does not bear the usual title, "Sacred and Profane Love," but "Ueberredung zur Liebe." In brief notes, printed inside the cover, the critic remarks that, after four hundred years, the subject of this masterpiece is not understood, but he goes on to say that in the nude woman must be recognized Dame Venus herself ("Frau Venus selber"), "who speaks in a seductive manner to the haughty woman, whose pride quickly disappears as the goddess aproaches her"; and he concludes, "It might be possible to give the work the title, 'Incitement to Love.'" The German critic, therefore, without thinking of the myth, but merely from observation, has recognized Venus in the nude woman, and, what is more important, Venus who, with seductive words, incites her companion to love. This is an indirect proof, but it goes to confirm our interpretation.

Other questions now suggest themselves, of which one is most important: For whom was this myth of Medea painted? Unfortunately, no documents are known which can aid us in replying, and the only thread of evidence which can lead us to the discovery of Titian's patron in the present case is the coat of arms painted upon the fountain. I have been fortunate enough to find it in a manuscript volume of heraldry, reproduced exactly, under the name of the Aurelio family. Nothing else is stated in the manuscript, not even the city to which this family belonged. But from researches which I have just now commenced, I hope that the name will give us some light. The noble family "Aurelio" originated in Aquileja, passed to Padua, and from there went on to Rialto, where its principal branch became extinct in 1207 with Giovanni Aurelio, *provveditore dei riti*. However, in the orders of Venetian citizens we find one noble and prominent personage, Nicolò Aurelio, who in 1523 was Grand Chancellor of Venice. It would be useless now to hazard speculations, but I hope that a continuation of these researches will lead later to the discovery of the name of the patron who ordered Titian's famous picture, and of its date, and will enable us to discover the vagaries by which it arrived in the gallery in Rome. For the present, we must be content to restore its true title to the famous masterpiece, to which four centuries have paid profound admiration, although ignorant of its subject, "Venus Persuading Medea to Follow Jason."

UMBERTO GNOLI.

Notes.

Paul Elder & Co. (lately Elder & Shepard), San Francisco, have in preparation 'The Voice of the Scholar, and Other Addresses,' by President Jordan of Leland Stanford Junior University; 'Poems of Ralph E. Gibbs,' a memorial volume edited by Prof. Charles Mills Gayley; and 'Antigone,' an account of this play's performance at Stanford, with illustrations.

A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, will publish 'Poe's Best Tales' and 'Poe's Best Poems and Essays' in two volumes, edited by Sherwin Cody.

A new popular edition of Thackeray in twenty-five volumes is announced by Harper & Bros., with the familiar illustrations.

Macmillan Co. will publish in the autumn 'Select Statutes and Other Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States, 1861-1898,' edited by Prof. William MacDonald.

'Studies in Human Nature,' by Prof. Élie Metchnikoff, will be immediately brought out by G. P. Putnam's Sons, with an introduction by Dr. P. Chalmers Mitchell.

The Oxford University Press (New York: H. Frowde) will issue at once 'Sacred Sites of the Gospels,' by Dr. W. Sanday, canon of Christ Church, with special illustrations, maps, and plans.

J. F. Taylor & Co.'s "Library Edition" of Charles Kingsley's Novels and Poems proceeds with 'Alton Locke' in two volumes, containing Thomas Hughes's long prefatory memoir. So the "Fireside Dickens" of Chapman & Hall (New York: H. Frowde) adds 'Barnaby Rudge,' the Christmas Books and 'Child's History of England' to that series, with the elder illustrations. Mr. John Lane's pocket Trollope arrives at 'Framley Parsonage'—plain and modest volumes in a fair type. Of like description is his George Eliot's 'Silas Marner.'

Mr. Newnes's attractive Caxton thin-paper editions—the paper a shade too thin and transparent in the present instance—take in Evelyn's Diary, and the 800 pages bulk only about three-quarters of an inch in thickness.

The "Centenary Edition" of Emerson's writings has for its third volume the 'Essays: Second Series,' originally published in 1844, when Dr. Hedge ventured to prophesy that they would "carry far into coming time their lofty cheer." The likelihood of their doing so is greater now than then. The notes in this volume are as interesting and important as in the two preceding. The introductory note to "Experience" relates that baffling essay to "one of the critical epochs of Mr. Emerson's life," when "the old and the new were contending within him" and "he was severely tried." The impression given of Emerson's moral agitation is a novel one, but, unfortunately, no date is mentioned. What some have suspected is confirmed by a note, quoting Emerson's journal, which assures us that George Ripley and Brook Farm were intended where we read (p. 101), "I knew an amiable and accomplished person who undertook a practical reform, yet I was never able to find in him the enterprise of love he took in hand." We have a good example of Emerson's sincerity where, using in East Lexington some pages from an earlier sermon, he said, "I do not now believe what I have just read." Yet in one sense he was "a two-faced man," as the sculptors French and Morse, modelling his face, discovered; one side presenting the philosopher, the other the friendly and domestic man.

Accounts of events of more than local importance prepared with thorough local knowledge are always pleasing and valuable. Among the best of recent books of this class is to be reckoned Mr. Frank H. Severance's 'Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier' (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Co.), which has now reached a second edition. The author's undertaking—"to illustrate," by a series of monographs, "certain typical and well-defined periods in the history of the Niagara region"—is excellently performed. "The Cross-Bearers," "With Bolton at Fort Niagara," "Underground Trails" (the crossing of the border by fugitive slaves), "Niagara and the Poets," are among the more important titles. The scholarship, accuracy, and local knowledge shown in the treatment of these events described give the book more than a parochial interest. Of no slight value as contributions to history are the account of the early Jesuits' visits to this region, to which fathers of the Huron Mission came as early as 1626, and the story of Fort Niagara during the Revolution, when it was the headquarters of the Tory and Seneca operations against the New York frontier.

Franklin College was opened at Lancaster in 1787, in the interest of the German settlers of Pennsylvania, the educational opportunities of whose children had been very poor. Its obligations to its patrons of English blood (prominent among whom were Franklin, Morris, Rush, Mifflin, and MacKean) were repaid later by its becoming an interpreter of German thought and learning, and a medium whereby these came into contact with American life. This was especially the function of Marshall College, which was founded at Mercersburg in 1836; the two were united at Lancaster in 1853. Though not among our larger institutions, Franklin and Marshall is something more than the chief school of the (German) Reformed Church. It has always stood for the traditions of culture and for conservatism in college life, with a marked preference for "the humanities" above the sciences. It has a highly logical course in metaphysics, and the requirements for its post-graduate degrees are unusually severe. Located in an interior town, away from the larger expenses and excitements of great centres, it has aimed to maintain unworldly standards of plain living and high thinking. While smaller concerns are calling themselves universities, it has been content with its own sphere, as preparatory to that of the (ideal) university. These facts should impart more than local interest to the 'History' of this college, compiled by Dr. Joseph H. Dubbs, and published at Lancaster by the Alumni Association. It is a

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sizable octavo, unpretentiously written and liberally illustrated.

Miss Somerville and Miss Martin of Ross, the authors of the 'Experiences of an Irish R. M.,' achieved an instant success even with readers whose notions of Irish life are derived from an hour's stay in Cork harbor or at most a trip to Killarney. Their latest volume, 'All on the Irish Shore' (Longmans), is in the same vein: a series of amusing and absolutely faithful sketches of Ireland as she is, with her continual "soft" weather, her slovenliness, her salmon-fishing and fox-hunting, her atmosphere of petty sessions and horse-dealing—all the elements that lend a charm to life in the south and west of Ireland, where one meets the most complete ignorance of the indoor arts, the most perfect absorption in and mastery of life out of doors. These writers practise an admirable parsimony of dialect, using it only for occasional ornament—a method that we commend to the New England "salt-water sketch" school. The tragedy that underlies so much of Irish life is still (in spite of Mr. Moore's last volume) an unworked vein, but the everyday country life of the remoter counties of Ireland could hardly be chronicled with more humor or greater sureness of touch than in these sketches.

The Hakluyt Society, by its latest publication, 'The Portuguese Expedition to Abyssinia in 1541-1543' (Series II., vol. x), has revived a long-forgotten but most heroic episode in African history. To a Portuguese fleet anchored off Massowa in 1541 came tidings from "Prester John" that "his kingdoms had been for fourteen years occupied by the Moors, and that the main of his people were in captivity," and beseeching aid. A council was held of the captains and "fidalgos," and "they agreed that it would be to the service of God and his Highness to send them help in their great necessity." Four hundred men under the command of Christopher da Gama, son of the great navigator, marched into the interior, and, after varied fortunes and the loss of the greater part of their number, including their leader, finally drove out the Moors. Thanks to their prowess, Abyssinia remained Christian. Two narratives by members of the expedition are given, the longest and most trustworthy being that of Miguel de Castanhoso. The other is by a monk, D. João Bermudez, who claimed to be the patriarch or head of the Abyssinian Church. In both are numerous instances of the credulity and exaggeration which characterized those who wrote of strange lands at that time. They both relate that the Apostle St. James rode "on a white horse in front of the army, armed with all arms, and carrying himself proudly, . . . and wrought great destruction" among their enemies. When Da Gama's head was cut off and fell to the ground, "a fountain of running water gushed out, which had never been seen before; its water, through the goodness and power of God, gives sight to the blind, and cures those ill of other diseases." The translator and editor of the narratives, which now appear for the first time in full in English, is Mr. R. S. Whiteway. An introduction, also by him, furnishes much information in regard to the history of Abyssinia. A map and a very complete bibliography, containing some 500 titles, of works concerning Abyssinia—by Mr. Coulsby of the British Museum, and Hon. Secretary of the Society—add to the value of the work.

The fore matter of the 'Switzerland' in "Macmillan's Guides" testifies to the superior character of the work. The editor aims to convey, in a few brief, but not dry sections, a notion of the country and its people, and to furnish a motive for taking an interest in both. This is followed by the ordinary hints to travellers, with a survey of baths and springs, of glaciers, and glacial origins, and of avalanches. Next comes a list of hotels, with an indication of those frequented by English and Americans, and of charges. After these hundred pages the routes for tourists; with maps made in Switzerland whose "quality is certainly unsurpassed" in rival guide-books—a not unworthy claim. "Switzerland" is also liberally interpreted so as to warrant inclusion of neighbor lands physically allied to it—*e. g.*, the lake country of northern Italy.

The Saxon Switzerland is treated in the latest issue of Velhagen & Klasing's "Land und Leute" series (New York: Lemcke & Buechner), in the original title, 'Dresden und die Sächsische Schweiz.' The extraordinary natural features of this mountainous region are beautifully displayed in half-tones, along with equally fine views of the Saxon capital, of Meissen, and other places within the scope of the work. There are two indexes.

We had occasion, a few months ago, to mention in these columns a Dano-Norwegian Etymological Dictionary now in course of publication in Christiania, and to call attention at the same time to the very serious lack of a Danish or Dano-Norwegian dictionary that should be to that public what the Standard or the Century Dictionary is to the American. The standard or rather only dictionary of the Danish language was, up to the present time, Molbech's 'Ordbog,' which in 1859 appeared in its second edition, and for many years has been out of print. Molbech's old publishers, the Gyldendalske Boghandel in Copenhagen, are now sending out a new 'Danish Dictionary for the People,' which, within a rather limited compass (about 800 large two-column octavo pages), purports to give all the Danish words occurring in regular present-day speech and writing, as well as the more common words of foreign origin, while foreign words of exclusively technical use are to be omitted. Of each word the origin and derivation are given, as far as possible. The first two parts (pp. 1-64), carrying the Dictionary to the middle of the letter B, have appeared and permit a judgment of the manner in which the work is being done. The completeness seems, so far, to be very satisfactory, the etymologies up to date, although perhaps too strongly influenced by the above-mentioned etymological dictionary; but the strictness of the definitions leaves much to be desired. We quote as an example the definition of the Danish word for *oar:* "A long pole, one end of which is flat, and which is used to row with." This lack of precision is particularly prominent in the zoölogical and botanical names—*e. g.*, the definition of the Danish word for English *auk:* "A kind of sea-fowl." This, to be sure, is an extreme case of unsatisfactory statement, but not in a single instance is the exact scientific name given. The authors of the dictionary are Messrs. B. T. Dahl and H. Hammer.

The first number of the new quarterly *Modern Philology* (The University of Chicago Press) sets a difficult standard for its successors. Philology in the severer sense is represented in such papers as Mr. Henry Bradley's "The Intrusive Nasal in Nightingale," in Dr. Ford's "Old Spanish Etymologies," and in Dr. Hempl's account of Hickes's bedevilment of the Anglo-Saxon Runic Poem; but most of the articles are devoted to what laymen call literary history. Notable are Professor Kittredge's discovery of a source for Chaucer's Prologue to the "Legende of Good Women" in certain poems of Eustace Deschamps, and Professor Emerson's identification of the "text" (in the Decretals) which states that "hunters ben not holy men." To the drama fall three papers, all valuable—"Some Features of the Supernatural as Represented in Plays of the Reigns of Elizabeth and James," by Professor Schelling; "The Mediæval Drama," by Prof. Brander Matthews, and "The Influence of Theatrical Conditions upon Shakspere," by Prof. E. E. Hall—a lucid and entertaining paper.

Though the connection between the structure of kites and geographical research is remote, many besides the students of the problem of aerial locomotion will welcome Dr. Alexander G. Bell's paper on this subject to which the June number of the *National Geographic Magazine* is devoted. It was originally a communication made at a recent meeting of the National Academy of Sciences, and is intended simply to call attention to the importance of the tetrahedral principle in kite construction. From experiments carried on during the past four years he is convinced that "tetrahedral kites combine in a marked degree the qualities of strength, lightness, and steady flight." The paper is illustrated by about a hundred diagrams and photographs with explanatory notes by Dr. Bell. It is announced that, at Mr. William Ziegler's invitation, the National Geographic Society will direct the scientific work of the north-polar expedition equipped at his expense which has just sailed for Franz-Josef Land, where it is to winter. The chief of scientific staff and second in command is William J. Peters, one of the Alaska explorers of the United States Geological Survey. His principal lines of research will be the determination of gravity, observations of the tides, the magnetic elements, aurora, the height, drift, and velocity of clouds, and the sea depth. The commanding officer of the *America* is Anthony Fiala, of Brooklyn.

The principal contents of *Petermann's Mitteilungen*, number four, are a study of the Alpine glacial conditions from the beginning of the ice age to the present time, the geologic changes of the southwestern Baltic coast region and its settlement by prehistoric man, and some notes on the industries of the Yap islanders. Among these is the catching of flying fish by torch-light. The fishing lasts for 100 days, during which the men are forbidden all intercourse with women; they refrain from certain kinds of food, and can neither cross a brook nor climb a hill.

Germany, as usual, occupies the most space in the current Consular Reports. The continued vigorous increase of her transportation facilities, notwithstanding the business depression of the past two years,

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her fuel briquette industry, which is assuming great proportions, and her system of primary commercial education are among the subjects treated. The seriousness with which the education of clerks is regarded is illustrated by the rule in force in one school, "Apprentices are absolutely forbidden to attend dances or to take dancing lessons." The new tariff of Persia, which went into operation on February 14, is given, and there is a short description of the Corinthian Canal, completed in 1893. From its poor location it is practically a failure. With walls 260 feet high and a width of only eighty feet, it is like a huge airshaft, and foreign vessels at least do not dare to encounter the mighty gusts of wind which rush through it. Our Consul-General at Montreal contributes a long list of American investments in Canada in the four months preceding last April.

—With nothing sensational in its table of contents, the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine* for June will be found one of the most impressive numbers of this unique periodical. Here one can feel the very pulse of the great educational machine, whether in the tables showing "What it costs to run Harvard University," with the several apportionments for ten years, or in the exhibition of the working of the elective system, as deduced from the programme of studies of 448 members of the class of 1901, or in the numerous evidences of material and spiritual growth—the new lecture hall, the projected concert hall and Emerson Hall, the projected fireproof stadium. Here, too, will be found the whole law of hoods and gowns; the beginnings of new customs, like the picnic of the graduating class or the various festivities contrived for class reunions at Commencement. Among the statistics we select, from those relating to the class of 1901, already referred to, the following—that, of 372 who took the A.B. degree with all the requirements, 254 took no physics, 250 no mathematics, 247 no Greek, 215 no chemistry, 178 no Latin, 147 no fine arts, 140 no philosophy, 137 neither Greek nor Latin, 87 neither Latin nor mathematics, 29 no science of any kind, 8 neither physics nor chemistry, 60 neither botany, zoölogy, mineralogy, nor hygiene. Radcliffe announces the first deaths among its women graduates, of whom the entire 415 were intact up to December, 1901—a remarkable vitality. We might go on without exhausting the subject. Even the dry records of the Corporation, with item after item of benefaction to the living and memorial to the dead, we have found affecting reading.

—The July *Century* presents the first instalment of a really important addition to the correspondence of Sir Walter Scott. In 1806 he became acquainted with Mary Ann Watts Hughes, the grandmother of Thomas Hughes, and a year or two later began with her a correspondence which continued until 1831. The editor of the letters, Horace G. Hutchinson, assumes that the correspondence went on without interruption from 1813 to 1821, and that the letters covering these seven years were not preserved. The first letter after this break contains a reiteration of the famous denial of his authorship of the Waverley novels, and Mr. Hutchinson surmises that we owe to her suspicion of the real situation the preservation of all his letters from that date to the end. An interesting sketch of Mrs. Hughes is contributed by her only living grandson, William Hastings Hughes, of Milton, Mass. The two-hundredth anniversary of the birth of John Wesley gives occasion for a careful sketch of the life of the founder of Methodism from the pen of Prof. C. T. Winchester, of Wesleyan University. The present discussion of "race suicide" is sharply recalled by contrast when we are reminded that Wesley's gentle mother was the twenty-fifth child of Dr. Annesley, and that she herself was the mother of nineteen children. Professor Winchester suggests that it would be truer to say that Methodism had its origin in Susanna Wesley's nursery than in the University of Oxford, as is often said. To her domestic regularity, at any rate, her son owned his order and precision, his gift of organization and mastery of details. Wesley's appeal to the middle and lower classes, rather than to the aristocracy, the writer attributes to "the sure instinct of the philanthropist." Professor Winchester's paper is divided, the second half to appear in August. Dr. William Hayes Ward writes of the great archæological discovery in the code of Hammurabi, the founder of Babylon, "the most important document for the history of civilization that has been discovered in many years."

—Alfred Hodder's 'A Fight for the City' (Macmillan) is mainly devoted to Mr. Jerome and the campaign of two years ago, in which he played so prominent a part. The matters discussed have been gone over and over again in the political columns of the newspapers, but they look somewhat differently as discussed in this volume. One interesting point which Mr. Hodder brings out (and it is one which is always in danger of being forgotten) is, that while Mr. Jerome's outspoken campaign probably pulled the ticket through—he was the "star" speaker, at any rate, and the vote polled for him showed what a hold he had on the masses—his outspokenness caused the greatest terror in his own camp; had the managers dared, he would probably have been muzzled. What they dreaded was that the campaign should be made "personal"; what they wanted discussed was "issues." Now, as Mr. Hodder remarks, there are no political issues between Tammany and the community. Tammany is a sort of tyranny by which an organization of thieves, pimps, blackmailers, and other criminals, with a strong ruffian at their head, manage public affairs for their own private profit, under democratic forms; and a campaign against it is not a political campaign, in any proper sense of the word, but more like a pursuit of criminals, caught red-handed, by a sheriff with a posse comitatus. We want their trail pointed out that we may run them down, not arguments showing the advantages of honesty and law and order over crime and oppression and blackmail. Such abuses as we have to extirpate now—the revolting pictures of them given here would have been incredible a generation ago—cut so deep that nothing short of the means of attack employed by Mr. Jerome are of any avail. Why, then, do our solid men always dread them, and cry, "Hush, hush" whenever they are resorted to? No doubt because our solid men are implicated in the guilt which is to be unearthed. They have had favors, they have had exemptions, they have profited by Tammany, while the poor and friendless have been ground to the earth. When Jerome begins to speak they all begin to quake. In Tweed's time and in Croker's time their quaking, their desire for "issues" and dread of personalities, was a sign that we were on the right track.

—In his 'Shakspere and the Rival Poet' (John Lane), Mr. Arthur Acheson of Chicago has added one more to the innumerable attempts which have been made to pluck out the heart of the mystery which Shakspere has enshrined in his sonnets. In so far as Mr. Acheson's work represents a reaction from Mr. Sidney Lee's interpretation of these famous poems (as almost wholly conventional exercises in a metrical form which was the fashion of the day), many readers will be in sympathy with him; but one cannot help being somewhat startled in the discussion of so thorny a subject to come across the following statement: "In the twentieth and twenty-first sonnets I have found a clue which not only leads to a full identification of Chapman as the 'rival poet,' but gives us also a settled date for those two sonnets which enables us to work out dates for the production of the whole of the remainder of the series and, incidentally, for several of the plays." The suggestion that Chapman was "the rival poet" of course originated with Professor Minto; but the clue here in question turns out to be the poem by Chapman called "The Amorous Zodiac," and it is against this poem, according to Mr. Acheson, that Shakspere vents his sarcasm in the twenty-first sonnet. As a matter of fact, the poem would come very well within the scope of Shakspere's criticism (which, after all, strikes us as not very seriously meant), but so would many another of the Elizabethan time, when surely no one poet had the monopoly of comparing his mistress with "all things rare that heaven's air in this huge rondure hems." The general language of Shakspere's sonnet would, indeed, seem to accord better with a poem of less exact and definite structure than the "Amorous Zodiac," with its elaboration of one distinct though far-fetched image. There are things in the book a good deal more extravagant than this, but in the main the value of it depends on the theory of the connection between these two poems. For our own part, we should feel no hesitation in rejecting that theory.

—By a singular omission, no biography of Isabella d'Este has appeared until now, when Julia Cartwright (Mrs. Ady) publishes a life of this celebrated princess in two volumes (Dutton). It will be remembered that the same author has written an excellent book on Beatrice d'Este, the sister of Isabella and Duchess of Milan in the days of Lodovico Moro. These sisters share with Elizabeth Gonzaga and Vittoria Colonna the fame of having been the most unusual and attractive princesses whom Italy could boast during the heyday of the Renaissance. Of the four, Isabella d'Este was the most successful in the eye of the world, and also in her own right by virtue of gifts and training the most brilliant. For many years during the first half of the sixteenth century she was the ruling power at Mantua, through the influence which she possessed over her husband and her son. Thus placed at the head of an important court, she enjoyed a remarkable opportunity to show her taste in literature and art.

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Guarino had been her tutor, and Ariosto sang her praises. Mantegna lived at her court, and she made her Studio of the Grotta the home of a collection which was hardly to be equalled in Italy or Europe. The personal qualities of Isabella d'Este were also admirable if judged by the standards of the Renaissance. Amid much profligacy she lived without reproach, and displayed a genuine capacity for the domestic affections. Like other rulers of the period, she acclaimed the winning cause without much thought of former allies, but such was the way of the world in the days of Machiavelli. As Mrs. Ady says: "She would have risked her life for the sake of advancing the interests of her husband and children or brothers, but she did not hesitate to ask Cæsar Borgia for the statues of which he had robbed her brother-in-law, and danced merrily at the ball given by Louis XII. while her old friend and kinsman Duke Lodovico languished in the dungeons of Loches." When this reservation regarding her political cold-bloodedness has been made, the biographer can praise Isabelle d'Este with a clear conscience. Lorenzo the Magnificent did not play his rôle more perfectly or with greater sincerity. Her learning was very considerable, and the degree of her interest in the various branches of art may be inferred from her correspondence. She devoted forty letters to a painting by Giovanni Bellini, and fifty-three to one by Perugino. She was generous and considerate. That she did not have a taste for devotion like Rénée of Ferrara is true, but she was the offspring of a pagan movement. Concerning the present biography we need only say that it confirms the favorable judgments which were formed of Mrs. Ady's earlier book on Beatrice d'Este. It is learned and graceful. When Luzio and Renier produce their long-promised life of their favorite Duchess, it may be more elaborate, but we doubt whether it will be more sprightly or more discriminating.

—Mr. Morris K. Jesup, in his latest report as President of the American Museum of Natural History of New York, gives a summary of the work accomplished during the year by the different departments of that institution and by the various exploring expeditions under its control. The department of vertebrate palæontology has maintained five expeditions in the field, which have contributed some notable additions to its collections. Among them are a complete skeleton of an upper miocene three-toed horse, a skull and jaws of the horned dinosaur *Triceratops*, and three complete skeletons of a rare cretaceous reptile, *Champsosaurus*. The most important accession of invertebrate animals is a collection of cœlenterates, consisting of about two hundred specimens of West Indian corals, actinians, and alcyonarians, collected by Dr. Duerden in Jamaica. The collection of fishes has received from the Hon. George M. Bowers specimens of a new genus and species of fish, *Mistichthys luzonensis*, from the Philippine Islands, the smallest known vertebrate. During the year the department of anthropology has installed several collections not previously exhibited, notably the Hyde collections from the ancient cliff-houses, burial caves, and ruined pueblos of Colorado, Utah, and New Mexico. This department has maintained expeditions in several parts of the United States and in British Columbia, Mexico, Central America, Siberia, and China. Messrs. Bogoras and Jochelson have finished their researches on behalf of the Jesup North Pacific expedition in northeastern Siberia, and the aim of the expedition to collect full information concerning all the tribes of the North Pacific coast has in the main been accomplished. The whole district from Columbia River in America westward to the Lena in Siberia has been covered, and the study of the material gathered reveals a closer relationship between the peoples of northeastern Asia and northwestern America than has hitherto been supposed. A comparison of the customs and traditions of certain tribes indicates that in culture at least they must be regarded as one. Dr. Hrdlička of the Hyde expedition has obtained anthropometric data and many photographs relating to twenty-one tribes in the southwestern Territories and in northern Mexico, and has secured several skulls and skeletons from this region, including the first Yaqui skulls known. The explorations of Mr. Saville of the Mexican expedition, in the State of Oaxaca, throw much light on the burial customs of the ancient Zapotecans. This expedition has also secured some rare specimens of gold, copper, and jadeite, and the Duke of Loubat has contributed a valuable collection of gems from Oaxaca.

SAYCE'S RELIGIONS OF ANCIENT EGYPT.

The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylon. By A. H. Sayce, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Assyriology, Oxford. (The Gifford Lectures Delivered in Aberdeen.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1902. Pp. vi., 509.

Professor Sayce is full to bubbling over with suggestions of every description, which he pours forth in print in an incessant series of volumes. As a natural result, it is generally easy to pick his work to pieces and point out innumerable major and minor mistakes, disagreements, and impossibilities. On this account, also, his works are rarely to be recommended to the beginner or the person unfamiliar with the subject, who is likely to be misled by such fascinating speculations, so stated that they seem to him, as they do for the time certainly to Professor Sayce, as altogether proved. It must be said, on the other hand, that many of Professor Sayce's suggestions are of great value, and that he has done most useful pioneer work in many fields.

In this volume he wanders in fields which are particularly dear to him, as affording the better opportunity for bold hypothesis—the borderlands of history. The first half of the volume, dealing with the religion of ancient Egypt, is more sober, and, we are inclined to think, more valuable than the second half. Through the whole ten chapters in which the religion of ancient Egypt is discussed runs the hypothesis of the Asiatic origin of the Pharaonic Egyptians. He believes that the Egypt of history is the result of an invasion of the Nile Valley by a Semitic population from Asia, which, after a long struggle, recollections of which survive in the Horus myths and in various folk-tales, succeeded in overwhelming and imposing itself upon the native African population, which latter, however, continued to the last to form the backbone of Egypt. The conflicting practices and beliefs of the Egyptian religion he traces back in general to the two different populations which were thus united. The tendency to fetish and animal worship comes from the native African population, who are akin in this regard to the negroes of Central Africa. The Asiatic Semites, on the other hand, held that man was created in the image of God, and they therefore represented the gods in human form. The combination of these two ideas produced the peculiar composite creatures with the body of a man and the head of a hawk, jackal, etc., so characteristic of the Egyptian representations of the gods. The divine nature of kings, as incarnations of the god himself, so distinctive a feature of Egyptian religious and political life, are derived from the Asiatic invaders; and the Babylonian inscriptions in which Sargon of Akkad, Naram Sin, and others give themselves the title of god, are cited in proof of this. The practice of mummification, in contrast with the earlier use revealed by the excavations at Negada, where the bodies were buried without mummification, and secondary burial was practised, are likewise ascribed to the influence of the Asiatic invaders.

Now, in point of fact, Semitic burials, as we know them, from both Babylonian and Palestinian exploration, are like the primitive burials in Egypt and do not in the least resemble the later Egyptian use, where the bodies were mummified; and long after mummification had become the general practice in Egypt, the Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia and Palestine buried their dead, frequently at least, in a fragmentary condition, skulls and other bones being tumbled together helter-skelter in almost any sort of receptacle. So, also, in the matter of the deification of sovereigns, while it is true that some of the Semitic sovereigns of Babylonia were deified, yet this can scarcely be maintained to be a Semitic practice. The indications are rather that it was due to foreign influences. With the full dominance of Semites in Babylonia it seems to have passed away; and in other Semitic countries no trace of its existence has hitherto been discovered. In these two cases Professor Sayce seems to have been carried away by the charm of his own theory, so that he has neglected carefully to consider the facts at present available; and in general we think that this is true of the whole of his theory of the Asiatic origin of the Egyptian civilization, which plays so important a part in the volume. It is undoubtedly true, and he has made it abundantly plain, that the Egyptian religion was very composite, and, from the philosophic standpoint, an incoherent and illogical combination of a considerable number of divergent beliefs and practices. He has traced in the religious development the rise and fall of the influence of various nomes; and the final result, if the religion at any period can be called a finality, contains elements drawn from many different cults, places, and periods. His treatment of the evidence of these diversities of origin is full of suggestiveness, even though we do not accept his main theory as proved.

If we were to single out any one chapter of this section as more interesting than an-

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other, it would perhaps be that on the popular religion of Egypt.

"In a crater-like hollow of the mountain cliff of Shêkh Herîdî there are two domed tombs, dedicated not to a Christian or a Mohammedan saint, but to a snake and his female mate. Shêkh Herîdî, in fact, is a serpent, and the place he inhabits is holy ground. Pilgrimages are made annually to it, and the festival of the 'Shêkh,' which takes place in the month that follows Ramadan, is attended by crowds of sailors and other devout believers, who encamp for days together in the neighborhood of the shrine."

But Shêkh Herîdî is really the lineal descendant of a serpent which has been worshipped in this same neighborhood since the prehistoric days of Egypt. A bronze serpent with the head of Zeus Serapis has been found near the same place, and the nome itself was called Du-Hefi, "the mountain of the snake." Elsewhere, sacred trees are found under which are set by the fellahin to-day offerings of bread and water, the most famous of these trees being a special object of veneration to the Christians, who, after the manner of religious inheritance common everywhere, represent it as the tree under whose branches the holy family rested during their sojourn in Egypt.

Professor Sayce classes the Egyptian as one among the few inventive races of mankind, to whom we owe "the chief moulds into which religious thought has since been thrown," the doctrine of a Trinity, the incarnation of the Deity through a Virgin birth, the principle of emanation out of which the gnostic systems grew, and much of the psychology and eschatology of the Christian religion. But while claiming so great a debt of Christianity to the Egyptian religion or religions for the suggestion of its doctrines, he most emphatically differentiates developed and completed Christianity from the religion which gave to it these crude suggestions.

The second half of the volume deals with the religion of the Babylonians. Fourteen years ago, Professor Sayce delivered a course of lectures for the Hibbert trustees on this same topic, which was a pioneer work. Referring to that volume, he says: "My lectures were necessarily provisional and preliminary only, and I had to content myself with erecting a scaffold on which others might build. The time had not yet come for writing a systematic description of Babylonian religion, and of the phases through which it passed during the long centuries of its existence." And to-day he feels that the conditions are much the same. The evidence is still scanty and imperfect, and our knowledge of the religious beliefs of Babylonia and Assyria at best only piecemeal. In the interval between these two courses of lectures several works have appeared, dealing with the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians, notably the handbook of Professor Jastrow, a conservative and careful investigation of the data now at hand. It is to be regretted that Professor Sayce did not make more use of such works as this latter, instead of forming brilliant theories to which he appears to endeavor to fit the facts.

As in his treatment of the Egyptian religion, the main theory which runs through these lectures is that of two conflicting elements, an earlier Sumerian faith, which is Shamanistic, a belief in spirits, ghosts, and demons, and a later religion, superimposed upon this and affected by it, of a higher order, the belief in gods and goddesses; the goddesses of this later Babylonian religion, however, being nothing more than the female spirits of the Sumerian faith. En-lil of Nippur, the lord of the spirits, is the characteristic god of the Sumerian period. But our author is compelled to recognize a striking divergence between the religious ideas which he believes to have emanated from Nippur, and those which emanated from the equally Sumerian Eridu, where the god Ea was worshipped. The different character of this latter worship he attributes to the fact that at some early period the Sumerian religion of Eridu must have been dominated by a non-Sumerian people. The names of the gods of Eridu are all, according to him, Sumerian; but the attributes not being those which he conceives of as Sumerian, he assumes this non-Sumerian influence. This is perhaps a fair specimen of the method which he pursues in general. Another specimen of his rash theories lies in his treatment of the influence of the cults of the two neighboring cities of Eridu and Ur. Eridu, according to him, lies on the alluvial ground among the marshes, and was the ancient port of Babylonia, while the neighboring Ur lay on the edge of the Arabian plateau. On this difference in position he bases a theory with regard to the difference of the religious influences emanating from the two cities. In point of fact, he has precisely reversed their positions. Ur lies on the alluvial soil close to the Euphrates, Eridu some miles to the westward on the very edge of the Arabian plateau.

In this part of the volume, as in the first part, Professor Sayce lays much stress on the points of resemblance between Egyptian and Babylonian beliefs and cults, which he thinks are evidence of the Semitic and even Babylonian origin of the race which built up, by its conquest of Egypt, the Pharaonic civilization. It seems to us that the greater part of those resemblances certainly are due to the natural development of similar primal conceptions, which are to be found not only in Babylonia and Egypt, but practically everywhere throughout the world. The trinities of the Babylonians and Egyptians may be paralleled by the trinities of the Indian religions, and all three are due not to borrowing somewhat similar ideas, but to thought development from common ideas. In one essential point Sayce notes a striking difference between the religions of Babylonia and Egypt. Egyptian religious thought deals very largely with the world beyond the grave. In contrast with this, the Babylonian religion limited itself practically to the present life. "The world beyond the grave was a place of unspeakable dreariness. The Babylonian was punished in this world for his sins and shortcomings." The magical element which seems to have been, to judge from the incantations and religious texts that have come down to us, so prominent in the Babylonian religion, Sayce ascribes to the influence of the Sumerian element. A study of Hebrew literature shows practically the same conceptions prevalent among the people of Palestine, and it may be said that, underlying any religion, there is a similar element—the survival of that animism according to which primitive man interprets the world, attributing to animate and inanimate objects and to the powers of nature spiritual existences comparable to the spiritual existence which he feels in himself.

Had the remarkable legislative code of Hammurabi been discovered before these lectures were delivered, doubtless Sayce would have amplified his discussion of Babylonian morality and legislation. That code makes it clear that practical morality embodied in legislation formed an essential part of the old Babylonian religion, precisely as it did of the Hebrew; it is one of the most striking of the many striking points of resemblance yet discovered between Babylonian and Israelite cults and practices.

THE SAGA OF KING HORN.

King Horn: A Middle English Romance. Edited by Joseph Hall. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: H. Frowde. 1901.

King Horn, Floriz and Blancheflur, The Assumption of Our Lady. Re-edited by George H. McKnight. (E. E. T. S. Original Series, 14.) London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1866 (re-edited 1901).

The Story of Horn and Rimenhild. By William Henry Schofield. (Publications of the Modern Language Society of America, vol. xviii., pp. 1-83). Baltimore. 1903.

It would be easy to fill this column with the titles of recent monographs devoted to the story of King Horn, a romance so interesting in itself, offering so many general problems and extant in so many versions, that the attention which has been given to it cannot be regarded as excessive. Nearly all the English legendary stories—"Havelok," "Bevis of Hampton," "Guy of Warwick," even "Hereward the Wake"—have been transmitted through French or Latin redactions, and have unquestionably suffered in the process. Horn has passed for the single legend of pre-Conquest origin which has come down in a right English tradition. It has been extraordinarily prolific and long lived. In the twelfth century it was taken up by an Anglo-Norman jongleur, Mestre Thomas, who did it at length in the assonantal form of a *chanson de geste.* The shortest and apparently purest form of the story is that of the thirteenth century, "Geste of King Horn." Another English version, "Horn Childe," much modified and not uninfluenced by the French redaction, was recited early in the fourteenth century, and mentioned among the "romans of prys" parodied in "Sir Thopas." The climactical scene of "Horn Childe" was passed down in ballads which were still sung when Motherwell was collecting his minstrelsy. Harking backward, the French romance of the twelfth century was, towards the end of the fourteenth, done over into a prose romance entitled "Ponthus et Sidoine," which became very popular and was translated twice into English and twice into German, one of which last versions led a chapbook life as late as the second half of the eighteenth century, and was in the sixteenth century turned back into an Icelandic narrative poem or *rimur.* As Dr. Schofield maintains, with much plausibility, that the legend was originally of Scandinavian growth, the life history thus briefly traced constitutes an extraordinary and probably unique example of boxing the legendary compass.

The legend itself belongs to a familiar series of exile and return stories, King

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Murry of Suddenne is slain by the Saracens, and his youthful son Horn set afloat with his fellows in a frail boat. Good chance brings them to Westnesse, where the King receives them hospitably and has them trained as knights. The princess Rimenhild falls deeply in love with Horn, who in beauty and accomplishments far outshines the rest. He refuses her not wholly discreet advances until he shall have won his knighthood. This degree granted, the proof of his valor comes with a descent of Saracens. Horn's victory is clouded by the treachery of his companion Fikenhild, who whispers slanderously of the innocent affair with the princess. Rimenhild, when she knows Horn is to be exiled, gives him a talismanic ring, and the lovers swear to be true to each other for a seven years' term.

Horn's exile is passed in Ireland, under a *nom de guerre*. Again he slays Saracen invaders, among them the murderer of his father, and refuses courteously the hand of the King's daughter and the succession. Meanwhile the Princess Rimenhild is being forced into an unwelcome marriage with King Modi of Reynis. Her messenger finds Horn in Ireland, and calls him to the rescue, but is himself drowned on the return voyage. Horn, landing in Westnesse, gains access to the wedding-feast disguised as a begging palmer, demands drink of Rimenhild, and slips her ring into the cup, bidding her pledge Horn. Recognition follows, and the discomfiture of King Modi, who was "made all bloody." But Horn refuses to marry his princess until he has redeemed his kingdom of Suddenne from the Saracens, and very foolishly he leaves her in the care of the traitor Fikenhild.

To reconquer Suddenne is an easy task. Horn's mother is found in hiding, and the people acclaim their Christian king. But Fikenhild has meanwhile immured Rimenhild in a sea-girt castle. Warned of his betrothed's peril through a dream, Horn sails back, enters the castle with his comitatus disguised as minstrels, slays Fikenhild, weds Rimenhild, gives his faithful friend Athulf the lovelorn daughter of the Irish King, and rules his two island kingdoms in God's law until death ends his wedded bliss.

Beyond noting that the intermittent Saracens are Danes, the story English, and dating probably from the tenth-century Danish invasions, little headway had been made in determining the origin or the geography of the legend. Mr. Hall and Dr. McKnight treat the matter gingerly, locating the story in South England; and Mr. Hall, for no apparent reason, opines that the legend was originally Celtic. Dr. Schofield's illuminating article appears to settle this matter once for all. He finds that Horn's kingdom of Suddenne is the Isle of Man. Westnesse is, of course, the west coast of England. On this theory, all of Horn's otherwise impossible voyages become reasonable. The argument is rather circumstantial than direct, for all these names were vaguely and variously employed. Since the story is Manx, it must date from the Viking occupation of that island. Several of the names, proper and geographical, betray this Norse derivation, and the legend, which may have a kernel of historical fact, is analogous to the "Gunnlaugssaga" and the "Laxdoela saga." It follows, then, that there must have been a lost English version (say of the eleventh century), which—through an intermediate French redaction (lost), Professor Schofield thinks—gave us the most primitive form extant—the "Geste of King Horn," and was variously modified in the French Romance and in the later English version.

For a Scandinavian origin and the Isle of Man the evidence seems conclusive. At other points, while admiring the fertility and suggestiveness of Dr. Schofield's method, one is tempted to take issue with him. Is there, for example, sufficient reason for supposing that the "Geste of King Horn" is a translation of a lost French version? Professor Morsbach has proved the point to his own satisfaction, in an article published in the 'Festschrift für Wendelin Foerster' (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1902). But the argument comes to saying that a handful of the Anglo-Saxon (or Norse?) names in "King Horn" are in Gallicized form. This seems a very slender peg upon which to hang any weighty conclusion. "The Geste of King Horn" was composed not earlier than the middle of the thirteenth century. By this time numbers of Anglo-Saxon names had gone by the board. Suddene, Ailmar, Ailbrus were, in the thirteenth century, quite as fanciful as Tintagel, Gawain, Bedivere to-day. The anonymous poet of the "Geste of King Horn" naturally used the names that were familiar to himself and his hearers in preference to the obsolete, if purer, names that lay before him in some older text. We see precisely this process in the Harleian MS. of the "Geste," which adopts two forms—Allof (for Murry) and Godmod (for Cutberd), from the French romance, with no other indication of contamination from that source. Accordingly, while there may have been one or many lost French versions of King Horn, to create one merely to account for the Gallic coloring of the proper names is to explain a very simple matter over-elaborately. The French coloring was in the air in which the "Geste of King Horn" grew.

Of the always perplexing version "Horn Childe," Dr. Schofield disposes very prettily by showing that there is contamination with an historical tradition of a Danish inroad into Northumberland, possibly that described in the saga of Olaf Tryggvason. King Hatheolf of the romance is identified with Eadulf Earl of Northumbria from 966. Even the apparently legendary Malkan, slayer of Hatheolf, appears to be Malcolm, King of Scots, and it seems probable that the whole beginning of "Horn Childe" is based upon an older poem concerning Eadulf, now lost. In any case, it is clearly demonstrated that "Horn Childe" need not be considered in elucidating the more primitive forms of the Saga. Schofield's study suggests, what has already been inferred from the style and metre of the "Geste," that there must have existed a number of early middle-English romances, upon native themes, far superior in quality to those later versions which have come down to us.

The consideration of Dr. Schofield's generally triumphant hypothesis has left us little space for the editions of Hall and McKnight. But the preliminary discussion will have shown that the text is valuable enough to justify a minute editorial care which in a less important romance would be sheer pedantry. The mere existence of two editions covering so nearly the same ground shows the need of a philological clearing house. Dr. McKnight should not have toiled over his new edition of Lumby while Mr. Hall was doing the same work much better. And, contrariwise, there should have been some way for Mr. Hall to lend the plates of his parallel texts to the Early English Texts Society. A comparison of the two editions is everywhere in favor of Hall. He prints the three texts parallel, numbering each separately. McKnight, to save space, prints the Harleian MS. at the foot of the page, and keeps the numbering even, text by text, by reckoning all the lines in whichever version found. For example, McKnight's line 401 in all three texts is actually l. 383 of the London text, 392 of the Oxford, and 381 of the Cambridge. This makes it almost impossible to use McKnight with any earlier edition unless first the texts be severally renumbered with the pen. Hall punctuates only the best MS. (C.), printing O and L diplomatically. McKnight punctuates and recapitalizes all three, which brings in a host of minor infidelities to his originals and inconsistencies with himself. McKnight's critical apparatus is neither well nor ill done. Hall's is virtually definitive, and his lists of parallel phrases and formulas from other romances, in the notes, are fuller than any previous collection and worthy of all praise. Both editors deserve commendation for printing all three MSS. To construct a critical text from such material as is at hand for "King Horn" is a mere seminary exercise. On the score of accuracy the advantage is ever with Hall. No one who has himself experienced the treachery of the eye and of the types will wish to dwell upon McKnight's manifold minor transgressions, of which a few material corrections will conclude this notice. Both editors stick to routine business and have nothing original to say on the question of the legend. Hall's book is an admirable piece of patient scholarship, almost incredibly accurate in details, and indispensable to all who deal with the earliest English version of "King Horn," or, for that matter, with the later romance of "Horn Childe," of which a reprint is appended. To be corrected in McKnight are (Harleian MS. 2253, by his own line numbering), l. 320, *he* read *heo;* l. 352, *akneu* read *aknen;* l. 1544 *seide* read *ferde;* 1591, *harpeirs* read *harperis*. On the other hand, Hall's readings of MS. O. ll. 60, 61, seem very doubtful. The present writer's independent collations of the Laud MS. bear out McKnight's *atteth* (but perhaps *all ethe* is the true reading) and *dethe*. Hall, exceptionally, seems to be amending somewhat desperately a hopelessly corrupt couplet.

The Heart of John Wesley's Journal. With an Introduction by Hugh Price Hughes, M.A., and an Appreciation of the Journal by Augustine Birrell, K.C. Edited by Percy Livingstone Parker. Fleming H. Revell Co.

In his old age Wesley expressed regret that he had not insisted on a Methodist dress as simple as that of the Quakers; mean, too, in its material. It is as if the publishers of these extracts from his journal had taken a hint from that expression, so mean is the appearance of their book. But we soon forget this when we have set

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out to read. The introduction by the Rev. Hugh Price Hughes, now dead, is brief but to the point. It compares Wesley's journal with Fox's and with Newman's 'Apologia.' It calls attention to the fact that Wesley's reformation, unlike Luther's, was essentially a working-class movement; his itinerary, extending to 225,000 miles, mostly on horseback, being deliberately intended to avoid the extremes of wealth and poverty. A better introduction is Mr. Birrell's, already familiar to his habitual readers, but here reproduced on well-considered grounds. But there are some exaggerations. We are told that for many years 8,000 miles was the extent of Wesley's travel, and that he frequently preached 5,000 times in a year. But Overton, a careful biographer, gives the total number of his sermons as 40,000, a yearly average of but 740, and Wesley himself, in his successive birthday jubilations, never sets his miles of annual travel above 6,000, fixing the minimum at 3,500. With the roads as they were then, this was enough in all conscience. There is no doubt as regards Mr. Birrell's final opinion, that we can learn better what manner of man Wesley was from his journal than anywhere else. There is some doubt that, from the same source, we can best learn the character of Wesley's time. He lived the intensive life. He did not see widely beyond the horizon of his personal work, and in much that he saw he had no part, and consequently made no report of it.

Only those who know Wesley's journal in its entirety can judge justly as to whether what we have here is indeed the heart of it, as Mr. Parker's title claims. We do not seem to get much more of striking interest than in Tyerman's biography, the fullest and the best of the many written until now. But we get this and that striking incident more wound about with circumstance than in the biographies, and better for this difference. Some things are minimized which bulked large in Wesley's life: his theological conflict with Whitefield; his relations with his termagant wife; his lack of judgment generally where women were concerned. The journal began in 1735 and ended in 1790. In the early parts we have a full account of his miserable failure in Georgia, and clandestine leave. It was certainly to court suspicion of personal motives for him to refuse the sacrament to the woman who had just refused to him her hand in marriage. Returning to England, he came into port just as Whitefield was setting sail for Georgia, where he did himself even less credit than Wesley. Shortly Wesley came under the influence of Peter Böhler, the Moravian, and was convinced that he had never been converted, and later that he had the necessary experience. As to the non-conversion there is a foot note undated, "I am not sure of this." Böhler's advice to Wesley, "Preach faith as if you believed it, and then you will believe it," is not very different from Keble's advice to Arnold—that he should preach the doctrine of the Trinity, though not believing it, if haply he might reach a better mind.

In 1738 Wesley renewed certain former resolutions. The first was, "To use absolute openness and unreserve with all I should converse with." Resolves in general are remarkable for their frangibility; but this one was well kept—so well that we find ourselves wondering that such fearless candor did not mean a broken head for Wesley at least once a week. The second resolution makes it easier to understand how he could make the first. It was, "To labor after continual seriousness, not willingly indulging myself in any the least levity of behavior, or in laughter; no, not for a moment." It marked one defect of Wesley's quality that the keeping of this resolution was not difficult. There was no laughter in him, no humor. Had there been, his journal would not have contained many things it does; for the things reported would not have happened. He would not have rallied every fellow-traveller immediately on the condition of his soul, his danger of eternal fire. His lack of humor went deep, nourishing the roots of his belief in special providence. A spark of humor here and there would have saved him from the presumption that the order of the universe was controlled by God with exact reference to his comfort or convenience. Egotism is oftener lack of humor than it is anything else, and Wesley's egotism was immense, flattering him that the rain or sun, when he was preaching, was adjusted to his wishes by divine interposition, and that his organs of digestion were subject to miraculous regulation by the hand of God.

This supreme self-confidence made for that fearlessness with which he encountered mobs and opposition of all kinds. There must have been something exceedingly impressive in a manner by which so many base fellows were abashed, and so many hostile inclinations converted into friendly services. The remarkable thing about the mobs is that each went to pieces like a house of cards. If much of this effect must be conceded to the calm dignity of Wesley's presence, much more must go to the account of his exaggeration of the elements of danger involved in the opposition to his preaching. If we read Mr. Birrell's sober statement with a sense of collapse, we are convinced of its substantial truth as we go through the book. "Wesley," he says, "was occasionally hustled, and once or twice pelted with mud or stones, but at no time were his sufferings at the hands of the mob to be compared with the indignities it was long the fashion to heap upon the heads of parliamentary candidates." What does impress Mr. Birrell, and what will impress every reader of the journal, is the horrible condition of Newgate and other jails, and the brutalities of the judges, magistrates, and the criminal code. Another strong impression is that of Wesley's powers of endurance. His perils by land and water are insignificant compared with the long strain of travel and preaching in all sorts of weather, the travel over the worst imaginable roads, the preaching often done at five o'clock in the morning, showing the kind of courage which Napoleon admired. So great was Wesley's tendency to exaggerate everything personal to himself that one would gladly have some surer standard of the crowds attendant on his preaching than his reckoning, to which twenty or thirty thousand was not an unusual mark. Breakfasting with Whitefield, October 28, 1765, he finds him "an old, old man, though he has hardly seen fifty years, while I, who am now in my sixty-third year, find no disorder, no decay, no difference from what I was at five and twenty." Nine years later there is a similar boast. He has none of the infirmities of age, and has lost some of those of his youth. "The chief means are: (1) My constantly rising at four, for about fifty years; (2) my generally preaching at five in the morning—one of the most healthy exercises in the world; ((3) my never travelling less, by sea or land, than four thousand five hundred miles a year"—an increase of one thousand on an earlier estimate.

There are many items that refresh our previous knowledge of the man: his original distaste for field preaching; his mother's dealings with her children, which taught them to "cry softly"; literary and personal judgments, as of Luther and Laurence Sterne; his taste in sculpture, which preferred above all distinctly the worst thing in Westminster Abbey; his first reading of some book on the slave-trade, "published by an honest Quaker"; his delight in the seizures and convulsions of women under the stress of his preaching. It is one of the paradoxes of early Methodism that these seizures resulted from the more restrained preaching of Wesley as they did not from the more emotional preaching of Whitefield; and that, while the latter suspected them, the former clung to them. In regard to the entry of February 12, 1772, it should be noted that it was of the slave-trade, and not of slavery, as commonly quoted, that he writes as "that execrable sum of all villanies."

A History of American Political Theories. By C. Edward Merriam. Macmillan Co. 1903.

The system of government established after allegiance to Great Britain was thrown off by this country was a novel experiment. There may have been parallels in antiquity, but in 1788 there was in the Old World no democratic nation. Yet the Revolution and the Constitution had both to be justified, and political theories were brought out and adapted to existing conditions. As the conditions changed, partly from the growth of the sentiment that caused the suffrage to be extended, partly from the problem of slavery and the convulsion that ended it, these theories required modification, and the history of the changes that have taken place deserves, as Mr. Merriam says, more attention than it has received. His essay in this direction is pleasantly written, and gives a clear view of the arguments employed by our prominent statesmen. It is substantially accurate in its presentation of the leading theories. We incline to the opinion, however, that the subject has received more attention than Mr. Merriam supposes, and that it has received and deserves attention of a somewhat different character from that which he has given it.

For, in spite of the fact that the experiment was new, no new theories were involved. The conceptions of social contract, of natural right, of sovereignty—these are the raw material, not only of our political theories, but of political theory the world over. They have been examined by numberless profound scholars and philosophers whose contributions cannot be ignored. But, on consulting the bibliography annexed to this work, we do not find the name of a single foreign author. Examining the text, we find Mr. Bryce referred to once, merely as the author of the 'American Commonwealth'; yet Mr. Bryce, in

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his recently published 'Studies,' deals directly with many of the developments here discussed, and deals with them in a way so admirably succinct and conclusive that it ought to have ended discussion. This is notably true of the concept of sovereignty; the difficulties surrounding which, as Mr Bryce says, are largely factitious, and spring from the attempts made to answer questions essentially different by the same terms. These difficulties have figured so prominently in our debates as to make Mr. Bryce's illuminating criticism invaluable, and it is unfortunate that it should be ignored.

Mr. Merriam, we should add, refers to Locke's influence; and in three or four concluding pages we find brief mention of some dozen or more writers as sources of inspiration of American political theory. No attempt is made to trace this influence, except in occasional allusions. On the other hand, the views of many comparatively insignificant persons are set forth, apparently on the principle that, as they are Americans, their political theories must be American political theories. This method necessarily results in vagueness, as when we read that the public is ready for measures whereby the general welfare may be advanced, "regardless of whether individuals as such are benefited thereby or not." The process of advancing general welfare without benefiting any one deserves a more minute description if it is in favor with the public; but perhaps we should be told, as in the case of natural rights and the social contract, that "the precise condition of public opinion is not easy to estimate."

The course of political theory in this country has been largely determined by politics. When British rule became irksome, it was necessary to find reasons for throwing it off, and the doctrine of political equality or natural right, and of government as founded on consent or agreement, as worked out by Locke and his school, were ready for use. They were asserted in the Declaration and embodied in the Bills of Rights. Presently, to the disgust of the Federalists, they were asserted by the common people in the demand for universal suffrage. Then they were reasserted by the Abolitionists and repudiated by the slave-owners, as inconsistent with their "peculiar institution." The latter maintained that men were not equal, and that there was no truth in the contract theory of government, and hence no binding force in the Constitution. The North conquered in the civil war, and forced the people of the South to accept the Constitution, thus violating the contract theory in defending it. Hence the metaphysical theory of the Nation came into vogue, and is now generally taught in our schools. While we are engaged in subjugating other peoples, despotic principles are indispensable. Were we to be overcome by another power, we should perhaps return to the belief that men have a natural right to freedom.

It is instructive to see that the requirements of empire have brought our professors of political science fairly over to Calhoun's theory. He maintained that men were not born free; they must be fitted for liberty. The negro race was inferior, and must be governed by the white race. This was a benevolent proceeding on the part of the whites; they were not to exploit the negro, but to be his guardian. In his anxiety to defend "the standpoint of modern political science" (*i. e.*, that men have no natural right to liberty) from being identified with the slave-owners' theory, Mr. Merriam goes too far. He says that, according to this theory, the negro was deprived of all rights whatever. But only a few pages before, he shows that the Southerners were careful to explain that the negro was protected in his rights by law, and that he was deprived of political rights only because he was not fit to exercise them. The two "standpoints" are essentially one, and it is a waste of sophistry to try to distinguish them. As Lincoln said, "It is the same old serpent"; the principle that certain men, or certain races of men, are good enough to govern others without their consent, is the principle of despotism.

The exposition of Calhoun's theory is perhaps the best part of this book, and Calhoun was one of the closest political reasoners that the world has produced. John Adams's views are also carefully brought out; those of Jefferson less adequately, although it is well to remind us that they were not derived from French sources to the extent commonly assumed. We are surprised to find no reference made to the growth of the party system as affecting political theory. What has so greatly influenced practice must be reflected in the principles by which practice is justified. In general, however, the work is successful as a description of the attitudes taken from time to time by our statesmen; indeed, considering its brevity, it deserves much praise in this regard.

As a critical work, however, we must pronounce it superficial. There is an "irrepressible conflict" between the theory which employs the concepts of natural right and the equality of men as persons, and that which denies this equality, and resorts to the concept of the "State" as a person exalted over human beings. The former theory is based not only on moral but also on religious foundations. Nature, said Chrysostom, is God; as men are equal in the sight of God, so are they in their essential rights by nature. The "State of Nature" is, of course, an historical fiction, and there was never an actual social compact; but men have always felt that there must be a moral basis for government which the "State" does not furnish. Above states and governments they recognize God and Nature; and to these concepts they will always appeal when their highest welfare is threatened by human authority. Unless this is clearly perceived, we cannot adequately comprehend the course of political theory—American, or other—in the past, nor forecast its future.

The Sources of Plutarch's Life of Cicero. (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. Series in Philology and Literature. Vol. VIII., No. 2.) By Alfred Gudeman. Published for the University. Boston: Ginn & Co.

An investigation into the sources of a comparatively unimportant piece of ancient literature would not ordinarily demand much attention in these columns, but the case before us involves the question of method in philological research in a way which deserves more than a mere passing notice. Dr. Gudeman begins with some very true and pertinent remarks about the defects of source investigations in the past, and then lays down a very reasonable method of procedure for such investigations: first, find out the various sources of information available at the time when your text was written, and, by a process of elimination, clear your list of all sources which, for whatever reason, your author could not have consulted. "It will then be, in many cases, comparatively easy to decide to what extent he probably utilized the authorities still remaining, provided, of course, that their character, purpose and scope are satisfactorily ascertainable." Dr. Gudeman then asserts the practical unanimity of previous scholars in the opinion that Plutarch made use of various works of Cicero himself, of Sallust's 'Catiline,' and of Tiro's 'De Vita Ciceronis' and 'De Jocis Ciceronis,' and follows this assertion with an absolute denial that Plutarch consulted for his biography any single one of the works in question. On the positive side, he argues at length, and with great apparent confidence, for the lost life by Suetonius as one of Plutarch's principal sources.

Now when we remember the many coincidences which naturally suggest indebtedness to the works above mentioned, it will be seen at once that the validity of the eliminating process would be of great importance in any case, and all the more so when the source finally fixed upon with so much confidence has not come down to us, and so cannot be submitted to any searching tests. Let us notice, then, a few of the main points in Dr. Gudeman's procedure:

"We may first take up the 'Letters of Cicero.' Now the mere presumption that Plutarch had been acquainted with this unique and inexhaustible thesaurus of historical and autobiographical information at once puts us on the horns of a dilemma: if he was, he must either have read the entire correspondence (which, as may be observed in passing, was probably double the size of our extant collection), and then have culled from it, like a modern Drumann, what appeared relevant to his purpose, or else he did not consult any part of it at first hand."

Now this rigid *all* or *none* alternative exists only in the writer's misguided imagination. When the horns of a dilemma are thus wide apart, with plenty of safe standing ground between them, we refuse to be placed peremptorily upon the one or the other. Plutarch *may* have done what many another man *has* done since—consulted the letters at first hand to some extent, and based statements of supposed fact upon them, without ransacking the whole collection. Dr. Gudeman's assertions that he had not the leisure to read the whole, and that he could not have had the disposition to do so, are alike incapable of substantiation and very unscientific props to insert beneath any important conclusion in a work of literary research. Similarly unscientific is the discovery of "*positive* evidence that the biographer never read the correspondence of Cicero" in the fact that reference to his correspondence with Trebatius, in chapter 37 of the biography, does not tally correctly with the letters of Cicero to Trebatius which are still extant. Now the obvious comment is, that the writer is guilty of the fallacy of drawing a universal conclusion from narrowly limited premises; but even the narrow conclusion to which he

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might seem to be entitled would not be unassailable, for Cicero was a man of many moods, often at variance with himself in different letters, and the assumption that Plutarch's allusion is to some letter not now in existence, gratuitous though Dr. Gudeman may fairly declare it, is still possibly true. Elimination must demonstrably eliminate if it is to be a fit tool for scientific investigation.

As to Cicero's 'Brutus,' generally regarded as one of the sources of the biography, "Plutarch cannot have read a line of this work, so glaring are the contradictions." Now most human beings, including many of those who write books, both ancient and modern, are not afflicted with such uncompromising impossibilities. They *can* read one line of a work, or *ten* lines of it, occasionally *all* of it, and still fall into contradictions in the use of it, more or less glaring, according to the point of view of the critic. As Dr. Gudeman here and there admits the carelessness of Plutarch in other matters, perhaps he goes too far in excluding carelessness or some other human weakness as making possible the apparent use of material from one source together with other material from a second source out of harmony with the first.

We might go on almost indefinitely with these rigid "cannots," if it were worth while. It is sufficient to say that due regard for sound philological method will soften well nigh every one of them into a "probably did not," or something equally distant from the realm of convincing demonstration. Many careful readers will agree that Dr. Gudeman's conclusions are *probably* true; but it is equally certain that many competent scholars will still regard it as exceedingly likely that Plutarch made more or less direct use of a number of the sources impugned. Nor on the positive side can it be said that the arguments adduced are such as to *compel* a reasonable man's assent to the lost life by Suetonius as an important source. It may easily have been so, and that is all. The scholar who shall take our feet out of the miry clay and set us upon the solid ground in respect to these problems must be able to recognize and eschew all ungrounded assumptions, unnecessary dilemmas, and logical non-sequiturs. The modern lack of care for logic, and lack of training in it, are hopelessly vitiating much of the philological work of the present day, as they are the work of the specialist in many other lines of investigation. Dr. Gudeman is one of the best read among our younger generation of classicists, and has done some extremely valuable work—his monumental edition of the 'Dialogus' of Tacitus, for instance. We may reasonably look to him for great services to the cause of the classics in the years to come; but his evident delight in proving that the opinions of previous scholars will not bear the test of "an unprejudiced examination" must not be allowed to betray him into a neglect of the rigid application of logic and common sense to his own processes. And we have already indicated that he does not stand alone in his exposure to that danger.

Clara Schumann. Von Berthold Litzmann. Band I. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel.

No woman of the nineteenth century occupied a more prominent position in the musical world than Clara Schumann, *née* Wieck; in the realm of instrumental music she ranks, indeed, above all other women. Her compositions have never been surpassed, if equalled, by any one of her sex, and as a pianist she was, even before her marriage, ranked with Thalberg and other idols of that time; some, indeed, put her on a level, as a player, with Liszt and Chopin. On such grounds alone she would be entitled to a biography; but there are weightier claims still. For five years she was the betrothed, and for sixteen years the wife, of Robert Schumann; wherefore all that concerns her during these twenty-one years reflects new light on the life of that great composer. The biographer in this case was in luck. He undertook his task at the request of the relatives, who placed at his disposal much unpublished material. Robert's letters had been printed before, but Clara's had not, and she was an extremely interesting letter-writer, even as a young girl. More important, even, than these letters is a series of manuscript diaries in no fewer than forty-seven quarto volumes, covering the years 1827 to 1896. This diary, to be sure, was begun by her father for her, and up to 1838 it mirrors his opinions rather than hers; but that does not make it any the less valuable. With such aids, Herr Litzmann could hardly have failed to write an interesting biography. This first volume covers the years 1819 to 1840; how many more there are to be, we are not informed.

Friedrich Wieck, Clara's father, was an eminent piano-teacher, whose fame attracted, among others, young Robert Schumann. He soon found the daughter more interesting than the father, and the two confessed their love to each other, never doubting that it would be approved by her father. But they were most wofully mistaken. Wieck had predestined his daughter from her babyhood for an artist; to her he sacrificed his time and means; she had proved very talented, and had begun a brilliant and quite profitable career as concert pianist at the age of ten. To have her suddenly snatched away from him and converted into a *Hausfrau* was a very bitter thought to him—in fact, an intolerable thought. It has been known for a long time that he strenuously opposed the marriage, but the details of this struggle are here for the first time made public. Wieck went to almost incredible extremes. At first he pretended that Schumann's poverty was his chief ground of opposition; when Schumann proved that his income was equal to that of hundreds of the most esteemed families in Leipzig, Wieck feigned various other excuses, resorting to the vilest slanders, such as accusing him of being a common drunkard. Nay, he began to hate and persecute his own daughter, who loved him, but loved Schumann more; and when she gave concerts, he would send communications to the music stores of the towns where she was to appear, denouncing her as "a shameless girl, demoralized by a scoundrel." Indeed, his demeanor was almost that of a madman. His stubbornness inflicted cruel tortures on the lovers; but luckily, so far as Clara's artistic career was concerned, his denunciations aided rather than hindered her, as no one could help sympathizing with the talented, brave, pure, noble, persecuted girl; and the courts finally decided against the malicious father, in favor of the lovers.

Herr Litzmann, though a man of letters and not a musician, has also succeeded in giving a vivid impression of Clara's art and her experiences with artists. She met nearly all the famous masters of her time and played with some of them—Liszt, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Spohr and even Spontini praised her, and Paganini was enthusiastic over her playing when she was quite a young girl. At first she played chiefly piano music of the Paganini type—brilliant, showy; but later, especially under the influence of Schumann, she became a genuine artist interpreter. She was one of the first to play Beethoven well; the first to introduce the romantic school into Vienna. For a long time, however, she did not dare to play the novel pieces of her beloved Robert, except to her friends. Even Liszt failed to conquer the public with this music, which is now popular everywhere. But of all the services Clara Schumann has rendered the world, the greatest is that she inspired the best of Schumann's songs and some of the best of his pianoforte pieces—the F sharp minor sonata, the Fantasia, the Novelettes, the Kinderscenen, etc. Of this fact there is abundant evidence in the pages of this volume.

History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River, etc. By H. M. Chittenden, Captain Corps of Engineers, U. S. A. In two volumes. Vol. I. New York: Francis P. Harper.

Trans-Mississippi history during the last century was shaped if not controlled by the Missouri River. Jefferson's order in 1803 to Capt. Lewis was: Go to the end of it and you will find something flowing westward. Not only was the great river such a wilderness clue, but it brought to light a happier hunting-ground for fur than the world had known. For forty years thereafter to go up the Missouri was the highway to fortune. Again, it became from first to last our warpath against Indians. It was every inch such in conflicts with Mormons and Mexicans. Nor in the civil war was its strategic value small. Throughout its valley, where combined Creoles and Canadians were first in the field, those Latin races longest held out against Teutonic Yankees from the East. In the rush to gold Meccas nothing helped the overlanders so universally and so effectively as the watercourse near whose ultimate springs the *spolia opima,* the supreme placer, Alder Gulch, was unearthed. No water, fresh or salt, was so perilous. Though a steamer had entered its mouth in 1819, it was forty years before such a craft had forced a passage to its uppermost navigable point (2,644 miles). The census of its wrecks falls but five below three hundred; and had every white man's grave along its course been plainly marked, the voyager would never be out of sight of pathetic reminders of futile contests with a whirligig at all times vengeful to intruders.

Each stage in life along the Missouri has followed as a surprise on the heels of the one before it—hunters supplanting the Indian, and overlanders the hunters. Boats displaced canoes, steamers boats, and railroads steamers. Through all stages the river, bestriding half a continent like a colossus, has been the nerve on which war, peace, emigration, and settlement have moved with all their equipage. The book

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before us is such a monograph of vicissitudes in the life of this unique monster as could not have been made had not the author (an army engineer) done expert work along it from end to end and come to love it with all its faults, so that he writes that "few scenes in nature appeal so strongly to the eye of an artist" (p. 84). The bird that we nurse is the bird that we love. But aware that no historian has ever rivalled Plutarch the biographer, Capt. Chittenden has enlivened his science with a charming human and personal interest, added to his own. His alternative title is "Life and Adventures of Joseph La Barge, Pioneer Navigator and Indian Trader, for Fifty Years Identified with the Commerce of the Missouri Valley." Indeed, half the book was written as dictated at the fireside by this navigational Nestor (1815-99), who alone from among his French contemporaries had escaped with eye undimmed to describe a body of time, its form and pressure, which none would willingly let die.

No reader can forget the frank notices, more or less critical, of celebrities, domestic and foreign, who for a generation begged standing-room beside the pilot, "whose accumulated tales of many years were to the last as new to the tenderfoot as if told for the first time" (p. 131). In hundreds of Carnegie libraries the dwellers in as many towns will in these volumes, romantic as 'Robinson Crusoe,' feel a special pleasure, while learning the true story and site of mythical historic landmarks near their own local habitations. How much the twin authors tell us which we are sorry not to have known sooner, is more than enough for a note-writer to hint at. One detail in the chapter on boats and boating before steamboats may be mentioned. Though bullboats may be treated elsewhere, we believe bulltubs are not. This aboriginal invention—a single hide stretched over a basket, shaped like half an egg-shell, and as buoyant—was used by squaws for bearing freight, and on occasion a single passenger, with the skin gathered water-tight about his neck. It was towed by a string of skin held between the teeth of a swimmer. Irving was carried over deep waters in a bulltub—as the present writer was informed by Henry L. Ellsworth, the Indian Commissioner under whose charge the tour of the prairies was in part carried out, and knowing whom was an open-sesame into Sunnyside.

Taming our continental leviathan was long a pet project of Congress with a lavish outlay of millions, and only in 1902 given up as a Lilliputian struggle with Brobdingnag. Simultaneous, however, with this confession that the Big Muddy was not made to be penned up, came a Congressional movement to let it loose, based on conviction that its oozy immensities, if they had free course in irrigation, would be glorified, turning the American desert into a garden. Its channel is twice as long as the Mississippi above the confluence, and its source-altitude well-nigh three times as great. Caught, caged, and distributed by methods easily practicable, it would be transformed into a Western Nile, repeating the Egyptian miracle when the earth brought forth by handfuls, and men gathered corn as the sand of the sea.

Method of the Recitation. By C. and F. McMurry. Macmillan.

The aim of the modern study of pedagogy is, we take it, to discover and define universal principles of method in learning; and in so far as these principles can be established and, we may add, put in practice, a "science of education" may be said to exist. The aim of Messrs McMurry is to lay down certain rules for the guidance of teachers in primary schools with "illustrated lessons." The authors lay stress on the truth first enforced by Socrates and later emphasized by Pestalozzi, that "logical notions are the goal of all instruction," and they devote one chapter to an explanation of the difference between individual and general notions. Five formal steps are indicated as essential for the acquirement of knowledge: they are preparation, presentation, comparison, generalization, and application. These formal steps "indicate the order of the movement of the mind." The criticism passed on the ordinary text-book, which is essentially deductive, is doubtless just; the five steps mentioned above are expressly inductive, and one can hardly imagine that an intelligent teacher does not apply them to some extent, whether consciously or not. The writers of this little guide regularly refer to women rather than men as teachers, implying either that the feminine mind especially needs this discipline in method, or that all primary work is in the hands of women.

The inductive method cannot well be illustrated to any extent in the limits of an ordinary text-book, though the attempt has been made of late years, notably in Latin. The insistence on and illustration of its advantages in these pages will be of service to primary teachers, who will, of course, be on their guard against supposing that either the inductive or deductive method can be used exclusively. A born teacher needs none of these hints and "steps" and illustrations in order to get in touch with and inspire a class, but all are not born teachers, and the volume may be commended for clearness and suggestiveness. In the chapter entitled "Lesson Plans" we find Longfellow's "Excelsior" presented as a lesson plan for children of thirteen. But will it bring about that "increased love of literature" which is laid down as the teacher's aim in dwelling on this poem? Surely a child of thirteen should be provided with stronger meat than "Excelsior," which it may well have acquired five years earlier. It would be an insult to the intelligence of a child of that age to ask it the questions which are suggested: "Was the young man joyous or sad?"; "Was he attractive or unattractive in appearance?"; "Did he stop?"—and so on.

Tennyson's "Revenge" and "Ode on the Duke of Wellington" are more truly "literature" than is "Excelsior," while fully as many moral lessons may be drawn from them as from the fate of Longfellow's "beautiful young man." When we are told that "the teaching of 'Excelsior' would probably occupy not less than three or four recitation periods," we can only wonder what is the level of poetry that engages the minds of classes still younger; and when we read that the "Pupil's Aim" is "to learn what became of a young man who attempted to climb the Alps," we can at least imagine ways in which at any age three or four recitation periods might be better employed. But it is always unfair to measure the value of this sort of pedagogy by its own illustrations. The science of education is in its infancy, and we welcome any attempt to support its tottering steps with rules and hints and methods and the rest, always reserving our opinion that the intelligent, well-informed man or woman will dispense with such aids, and that on the unintelligent and ill-informed such excellent and logical advice will be thrown away.

The Great Marquess. By John Willcock. Scribners.

The whole tone of this biography of Archibald Campbell, eighth Earl and first Marquess of Argyll (1607?-1661), is controversial, and, oddly enough, a hint of this fact is given in the title, despite the apparent innocence of the latter. The same epithet, "Great," has been applied to Montrose, who was a contemporary and rival of Argyll. Mr. Willcock is no friend of Montrose, although he is willing to allow that the Cavalier possessed traits which superficially are more attractive than those of Argyll. In his final parallel he likens them to the sons of Isaac.

"Montrose recalls the attractive qualities of Esau, while in Argyll we see much of the moral and spiritual strength of Jacob. In Montrose we have impulsiveness and chivalry, combined with a certain levity in forsaking one cause and embracing another, and a brilliancy of heroic achievement which suddenly died down and left behind it no lasting benefit or even result, while there were in Argyll a strong susceptibility to religious impressions, a keen shrewdness of judgment, and a tenacity of purpose which remind us of Rebecca's favorite son. Our instinctive feelings led us to receive into our hearts the one type of character, while our maturer judgments approve the other as greater and more worthy."

Mr. Willcock disclaims all idea of attempting to write a panegyric of Argyll, but observes, "We think that we have set down an array of facts which will render it difficult for the detractor of the great Marquess of Argyll to resume his hateful work."

The main charges against Argyll can be briefly summarized. He has frequently been accused, alike by those who sympathize with the extreme Royalists and the extreme Covenanters, of having been a selfish and cold-blooded politician, a hypocrite in matters of religion, and a coward on the field of battle. During the struggle between Charles I. and Parliament, Argyll was in many ways the most important man in Scotland, but, after the regicide, he followed the unpopular policy of joining Charles II. without becoming an ardent Royalist. As the result of falling between both groups of extremists, he was soon in the awkward position of being a party by himself, and after the Restoration he was beheaded for complicity with the Government of Cromwell. "He fell," says Gardiner, "unaided and unregretted, because a base intrigue for the maintenance of his own influence had taken the place of manful championship of his nation's cause."

Mr. Willcock's Life of Argyll, which owes its existence to a suggestion from Mr. C. H. Firth, is learned with all the learning of the Scottish antiquary, and undoubtedly

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deserves to be styled a work of merit even when judged by historical rather than antiquarian standards. At the same time it seems to us unduly biassed in Argyll's favor, especially where it is a question of the latter's personal courage and of his relations toward the Commonwealth in 1653-54. Mr. Willcock does, indeed, awaken some sympathy for the ex-Covenanter, by describing his difficulties after the battle of Worcester, but we find it impossible to accept an estimate of Argyll which leaves him in possession of the leading virtues, both cardinal and theological. Regarding his powers of mind, there is less ground of disagreement, and here we cannot quarrel with Mr. Willcock's judgment:

"Even his enemies themselves are constrained to bear witness to the astonishing intellectual gifts which he possessed, and which enabled him to guide and control the politics of Scotland for so many years, and to make a deep impression upon English political life during the period when the two nations were united in offering resistance to the arbitrary Government of Charles I., and in breaking down the military power by which he would fain have maintained it."

Silverware and Jewelry. By H. Wilson. D. Appleton & Co.

The second volume of Mr. Lethaby's series of technical handbooks has appeared. We have already noticed that on 'Bookbinding and the Care of Books,' prepared by Douglas Cockerell, with drawings by Noel Rooke. The present one shows diagrams and other illustrations seeming to be by the author, except as they are photographic. We must repeat here of this series what was said in our former notice, that it is difficult to imagine a more carefully laid plan or to hope for better prospects of perfect success in carrying it out. The books are sure to be of remarkable, perhaps of unexampled, value to those who wish to know how the decorative arts are practised in reality. This is exemplified by Mr. Wilson's Chapter X., which is devoted to "Silver Solder and Enamelling Solder," with some words about solders for large work; and the chapter that follows has for its heading "Soldering, Use of Borax, The Blowpipe, Soldering Lamps." Herein the beginner is advised to make his own solder, and a good recipe for it is printed in full, while three cuts of half a page each and one full-page illustration are inserted in the text. So with Chapter XI., which deals with the process of soldering; three illustrations of the width of the page are inserted in three of its five pages, leaving not much text. Brevity has been not so much "consulted" as used instinctively. Toward the close of the book there is a very brief chapter on "Coloring, Darkening, and Oxydizing Silver and Gold," and another on "Gilding," and here, perhaps, brevity has been carried too far. There are difficulties which arise in coloring metals; a process not very simple except in one or two of its forms. (We are not thinking now of alloys applied to the surface by incrustation and the like, but of the mere coloring of the metal.) The two pages given to this rather large subject are necessarily inadequate. So with gilding; two and a half pages allow of only definitions, so to speak; one might expect to get as much information from a modern encyclopædia. Meantime, as there was no room for fuller treatment, the student is to consider himself under orders to weigh; to learn thoroughly, that which can be learned thoroughly by the aid of so simple a handbook as this, and leave the rest to a later stage of his development; unless, indeed, he is prepared to try experiments patiently, using such brief advice as is given here and going a little farther on his own account. The illustrations are extremely well drawn, vigorous, and intelligible in that effective broad-line, clear black-and-white way which some of the best English draughtsmen affect, and which Mr. Lethaby himself has used, or at least encouraged, in that very noble book which he and the late Harold Swainson made in 1894 as a record of the church of Santa Sophia, and again of the first handbook in this series.

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